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June 1820 -

NO CROSS, NO CROWN:

A

DISCOURSE

SHEWING THE

NATURE AND DISCIPLINE

OF THE

Holy Croſs of Chriſt;

AND THAT

The DENIAL of SELF, and daily bearing of CHRIST'S CROSS, is the alone Way to the Reſt and Kingdom of GOD.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

The living and dying Teſtimonies of many Perſons of Fame and Learning, both of ancient and modern Times, in Favour of this Treatiſe.

IN TWO PARTS.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

'And Jeſus ſaid unto his Diſciples; If any man will come after me, let him deny 'himſelf, and take up his croſs daily, and follow me.' Luke iv. 23.

'I have fought a good Fight, I have finiſhed my Courſe, I have kept the Faith: 'henceforth there is laid up for me a CROWN of Righteouſneſs,' &c. 1 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY BENJAMIN & JACOB JOHNSON, No. 147,
HIGH-STREET.——1797.

THE PREFACE.

READER,

THE great buſineſs of man's life is, to anſwer the end for which he lives; and that is, to glorify God, and ſave his own ſoul: this is the decree of heaven, as old as the world. But ſo it is, that man mindeth nothing leſs than what he ſhould moſt mind; and deſpiſeth to inquire into his own being, its original duty and end; chooſing rather to dedicate his days (the ſteps he ſhould make to bleſſedneſs) to gratify the pride, avarice, and luxury of his heart; as if he had been born for himſelf, or rather given himſelf being, and ſo not ſubject to the reckoning and judgment of a ſuperior power. To this wild and lamentable paſs, hath poor man brought himſelf, by his diſobedience to the law of God in his heart, by doing that which he knows he ſhould not do, and leaving undone what he knows he ſhould do. And as long as this diſeaſe continueth upon man, he will make his God his enemy, and himſelf uncapable of the love and ſalvation that he hath manifeſted by his ſon, Jeſus Chriſt, to the world.

If, Reader, thou art ſuch an one, my counſel to thee is, to retire into thyſelf, and take a view of the condition of thy ſoul; for Chriſt hath given thee light with which to do it: ſearch carefully and thoroughly; thy life is upon it; thy ſoul is at ſtake. It is but once to be done; if thou abuſeſt thyſelf in it, the loſs is irreparable; the world is not price enough to ranſom thee: wilt thou then, for ſuch a world, belate thyſelf, overſtay the time of thy ſalvation, and loſe thy ſoul? Thou haſt to do (I grant thee) with great patience; but that alſo muſt have an end: therefore provoke not that God that made thee, to reject thee. Doſt thou know what it is? It is Tophet, it is hell, the eternal anguiſh of the damned. Oh! Reader, as one knowing the terrors

of

of the Lord, I perſuade thee to be ſerious, diligent, and fervent about thy ſalvation! aye, and as one knowing the comfort, peace, joy and pleaſure of the ways of righteouſneſs too, I exhort and invite thee, to embrace the reproofs and convictions of Chriſt's light and ſpirit in thine own conſcience, and bear the judgment, who haſt wrought the ſin. The fire burns but the ſtubble; the wind blows but the chaff: yield up thy body, ſoul and ſpirit, to him that maketh all things new; new heavens and new earth, new love, new joy, new peace, new works, a new life and converſation. Men are grown corrupt and droſſy by ſin, and they muſt be ſaved through fire, which purgeth it away; therefore the word of God is compared to a fire, and the day of ſalvation to an oven; and Chriſt himſelf to a refiner of gold, and purifier of ſilver.

Come, Reader, hearken to me a while; I ſeek thy ſalvation: that is my plot; thou wilt forgive me. A refiner is come near thee, his grace hath appeared to thee: it ſhews thee the world's luſts, and teacheth thee to deny them. Receive his leaven, and it will change thee; his medicine, and it will cure thee: he is as infallible as free; without money, and with certainty. A touch of his garment did it of old; it will do it ſtill; his virtue is the ſame, it cannot be exhauſted; for in him the fulneſs dwells: bleſſed be God for his ſufficiency. He laid help upon him, that he might be mighty to ſave all that come to God through him: do thou ſo, and he will change thee: aye, thy vile body like unto his glorious body. He is the great philoſopher indeed, the wiſdom of God, that turns lead into gold, vile things into things precious: for he maketh ſaints out of ſinners, and almoſt gods of men. What reſts to us then, that we muſt do, to be thus witneſſes of his power and love? This is the Crown: but where is the Croſs? Where is the bitter cup and bloody baptiſm? Come, Reader, be like him; for this tranſcendent joy, lift up thy head above the world; then thy ſalvation will draw nigh indeed.

Chriſt's

Christ's Cross, is Christ's way to Christ's Crown. This is the subject of the following discourse; first writ during my confinement in the Tower of London, in the year 1668, now reprinted with great enlargements of matter and testimonies, that thou, Reader, mayest be won to Christ; and if won already, brought nearer to him. It is a path, God in his everlasting kindness guided my feet into, in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years of age: then he took me by the hand, and led me out of the pleasures, vanities, and hopes of the world. I have tasted of Christ's judgments, and of his mercies, and of the world's frowns and reproaches: I rejoice in my experience and dedicate it to thy service in Christ. It is a debt I have long owed, and has been long expected: I have now paid it, and delivered my soul. To my country, and to the world of christians I leave it: may God, if he please, make it effectual to them all, and turn their hearts from that envy, hatred and bitterness, they have one against another, about worldly things; (sacrificing humanity and charity to ambition and covetousness, for which they fill the earth with trouble and oppression) that receiving the spirit of Christ into their hearts (the fruits of which are love, peace, joy, temperance and patience, brotherly kindness and charity) they may in body, soul and spirit, make a triple league against the world, the flesh and the devil, the only common enemies of mankind; and having conquered them through a life of self-denial, by the power of the Cross of Jesus, they may at last attain to the eternal rest and kingdom of God.

So desireth, so prayeth,

friendly Reader,

thy fervent christian friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

NO CROSS, NO CROWN.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. Of the neceſſity of the Croſs of Chriſt in general; yet the little regard chriſtians have to it. §. 2. The degeneracy of Chriſtendom from purity to luſt, and moderation to exceſs. §. 3. That worldly luſts and pleaſures are become the care and ſtudy of chriſtians, ſo that they have advanced upon the impiety of infidels. §. 4. This defection a ſecond part to the Jewiſh tragedy, and worſe than the firſt: the ſcorn chriſtians have caſt on their Saviour. §. 5. Sin is of one nature all the world over; ſinners are of the ſame church, the devil's children: profeſſion of religion in wicked men, makes them but the worſe. §. 6. A wolf is not a lamb, a ſinner cannot be (whilſt ſuch) a ſaint. §. 7. The wicked will perſecute the good; this falſe chriſtians have done to the true, for non-compliance with their ſuperſtitions: the ſtrange carnal meaſures falſe chriſtians have taken of chriſtianity; the danger of that ſelf-ſeduction. §. 8. The ſenſe of that has obliged me to this diſcourſe, for a diſſuaſive againſt the world's luſts, and an invitation to take up the daily Croſs of Chriſt, as the way left us by him to bleſſedneſs. §. 9. Of the ſelf-condemnation of the wicked; that religion and worſhip are compriſed in doing the will of God. The advantage good men have upon bad men in the laſt judgment. §. 10. A ſupplication for Chriſtendom, that ſhe may not be rejected in that great aſſize of the world. She is exhorted to conſider, what relation ſhe bears to Chriſt; if her Saviour, how ſaved, and for what: what her experience is of that great work. That Chriſt came to ſave from ſin, and wrath by conſequence; not ſave men in ſin, but from it, and ſo the wages of it.

§. 1. THOUGH the knowledge and obedience of the doctrine of the croſs of Chriſt, be of infinite moment to the ſouls of men; for that is the only door

door to true christianity, and that path the ancients ever trod to blessedness: yet with extreme affliction, let me say, it is so little understood, so much neglected, and what is worse, so bitterly contradicted, by the vanity, superstition, and intemperance of professed christians, that we must either renounce to believe what the Lord Jesus hath told us, Luke xiv. 27. 'That whosoever 'doth not bear his cross, and come after him, cannot 'be his disciple:' or, admitting that for truth, conclude, that the generality of Christendom do miserably deceive and disappoint themselves in the great business of christianity and their own salvation.

§. II. For, let us be never so tender and charitable in the survey of those nations, that intitle themselves to any interest in the holy name of Christ, if we will but be just too, we must needs acknowledge, that after all the gracious advantages of light, and obligations to fidelity, which these latter ages of the world have received, by the coming, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, with the gifts of his Holy Spirit; to which add, the writings, labours, and martyrdom of his dear followers in all times, there seems very little left of christianity but the name: which being now usurped by the old heathen nature and life, makes the professors of it but true heathens in disguise. For though they worship not the same idols, they worship Christ with the same heart: and they can never do otherwise, whilst they live in the same lusts. So that the unmortified christian and the heathen are of the same religion. For though they have different objects, to which they do direct their prayers, that adoration in both is but forced and ceremonious, and the deity they truly worship is the god of the world, the great lord of lusts: to him they bow with the whole powers of soul and sense. What shall we eat? What shall we drink? What shall we wear! And how shall we pass away our time? Which way may we gather wealth, increase our power, enlarge our territories, and dignify and perpetuate our names and families in the earth? Which base sensuality is most pathetically expressed

preſſed and comprized by the beloved apoſtle John, in theſe words: 'the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, 'and the pride of life, which (ſays he) are not of the 'Father, but of the world that lieth in wickedneſs.'[a]

§. III. It is a mournful reflection, but a truth no confidence can be great enough to deny, that theſe worldly luſts fill up the ſtudy, care and converſation of wretched Chriſtendom! and, which aggravates the miſery, they have grown with time. For as the world is older, it is worſe; and the examples of former lewd ages, and their miſerable concluſions, have not deterred, but excited ours; ſo that the people of this, ſeem improvers of the old ſtock of impiety, and have carried it ſo much farther than example, that inſtead of advancing in virtue, upon better times, they are ſcandalouſly fallen below the life of heathens. Their high-mindedneſs, laſciviouſneſs, uncleanneſs, drunkenneſs, ſwearing, lying, envy, backbiting, cruelty, treachery, covetouſneſs, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, are ſo common, and committed with ſuch invention and exceſs, that they have ſtumbled and embittered infidels to a degree of ſcorning that holy religion, to which their good example ſhould have won their affections.

§. IV. This miſerable defection from primitive times, when the glory of chriſtianity was the purity of its profeſſors, I cannot but call the ſecond and worſt part of the Jewiſh tragedy, upon the bleſſed Saviour of mankind. For the Jews, from the power of ignorance, and the extreme prejudice they were under to the unworldly way of his appearance, would not acknowledge him when he came, but for two or three years perſecuted, and finally crucified him in one day. But the falſe chriſtians cruelty laſts longer: they have firſt, with Judas, profeſſed him, and then, for theſe many ages, moſt baſely betrayed, perſecuted, and crucified him, by a perpetual apoſtacy in manners, from the ſelf-denial, and holineſs of his doctrine; their lives giving the lye to their faith. Theſe are they that the author of

[a] 1 John ii. 16.

the epiſtle to the Hebrews tells us, 'crucify to themſelves the ſon of God afreſh, and put him to open ſhame:'[b] whoſe defiled hearts, John, in his Revelation, ſtyles, the ſtreets of Sodom, and Egypt, ſpiritually ſo called, where he beheld the Lord Jeſus crucified, long after he had been aſcended. And as Chriſt ſaid of old, a man's enemies are thoſe of his own houſe; ſo Chriſt's enemies now, are chiefly thoſe of his own profeſſion: 'they ſpit upon him, they nail and pierce him, 'they crown him with thorns, and give him gall and 'vinegar to drink.'[c] Nor is it hard to apprehend; for they that live in the ſame evil nature and principle the Jews did, that crucified him outwardly, muſt needs crucify him inwardly; ſince they that reject the grace now in their own hearts, are one in ſtock and generation with the hard-hearted Jews, that reſiſted the grace that then appeared in and by Chriſt.

§. V. Sin is of one nature all the world over; for though a lyar is not a drunkard, nor a ſwearer a whoremonger, nor either properly a murderer; yet they are all of a church; all branches of the wicked root; all of a kin. They have but one father, the devil, as Chriſt ſaid to the profeſſing Jews,[d] the viſible church of that age: he ſlighted their pretenſions to Abraham and Moſes, and plainly told them, that he that committeth ſin, was the ſervant of ſin. They did the devil's works, and therefore were the devil's children. The argument will always hold upon the ſame reaſons, and therefore good ſtill: 'his ſervants you are, ſaith Paul, whom 'you obey:'[e] and ſaith John to the church of old, 'let no man deceive you; he that committeth ſin is of 'the devil.'[f] Was Judas ever the better chriſtian, for crying, Hail, Maſter, and kiſſing Chriſt?[g] By no means: they were the ſignal of his treachery; the token given, by which the bloody Jews ſhould know and take him. He called him Maſter, but betrayed him; he kiſſed, but ſold him to be killed: this is the upſhot of the falſe chriſtian's religion. If a man aſk them, Is Chriſt your

[b] Heb. vi. 6. Rev. xi 8. [c] Mat. xxvii. [d] John viii. 34 to 45. [e] Rom. vi. 16. [f] 1 John iii. 7, 8. [g] Mat. xxvi. 49.

your Lord? They will cry, God forbid elſe: yes, he is our Lord. Very well: But do you keep his commandments? No. How ſhould we? How then are you his diſciples? It is impoſſible, ſay they; what! would you have us keep his commandments? No man can. What! impoſſible to do that, without which Chriſt hath made it impoſſible to be a chriſtian? Is Chriſt unreaſonable? Does he reap where he has not ſown;[h] require where he has not enabled? Thus it is, that with Judas they call him Maſter, but take part with the evil of the world to betray him: and kiſs and embrace him as far as ſpecious profeſſion goes; and then ſell him, to gratify the paſſion that they moſt indulge. Thus, as God ſaid of old, they make him ſerve with their ſins, and for their ſins too.[i]

§. VI. 'Let no man deceive his own ſoul; grapes 'are not gathered of thorns, nor figs of thiſtles:'[k] a wolf is not a ſheep, nor is a vulture a dove. What form, people, or church ſoever thou art of, it is the truth of God to mankind, that they who have even the form of godlineſs, but (by their unmortified lives) deny the power thereof, make not the true, but falſe church: which though ſhe intitle herſelf the lamb's bride, or church of Chriſt, ſhe is that myſtery, or myſterious Babylon, fitly called by the Holy Ghoſt, the mother of harlots, and all abominations;[l] becauſe degenerated from chriſtian chaſtity and purity, into all the enormities of heathen Babylon: a ſumptuous city of old time, much noted for the ſeat of the kings of Babylon, and at that time the place in the world of greateſt pride and luxury. As ſhe was then, ſo myſtical Babylon is now, the great enemy of God's people.

§. VII. True it is, 'they that are born of the fleſh, 'hate and perſecute them that are born of the ſpirit,'[m] who are the circumciſion in heart. It ſeems they cannot own, nor worſhip God after her inventions, methods and preſcriptions, nor receive for doctrine her vain

[h] Mat. xxv. 24. [i] Iſa. xliii. 24. [k] Mat. vii. 16. [l] Rev. xvii. 5. [m] Gal. iv. 29.

vain traditions, any more than they can comply with her corrupt fashions and customs in their conversation. The case being thus, from an apostate she becomes a persecutor. It is not enough that she herself declines from ancient purity, others must do so too. She will give them no rest, that will not partake with her in that degeneracy, or receive her mark. Are any wiser than she, than mother church? No, no: nor can any make war with the beast she rides upon, those worldly powers that protect her, and vow her maintainance against the cries of her dissenters. Apostacy and superstition are ever proud and impatient of dissent: all must conform, or perish.[n] Therefore the slain witnesses, and blood of the souls under the altar, are found within the walls of this mystical Babylon, this great city of false christians, and are charged upon her by the Holy Ghost, in the revelation. Nor is it strange that she should slay the servants, who first crucified the Lord: but strange and barbarous too, that she should kill her husband, and murder her Saviour, titles she seems so fond of, and that have been so profitable to her; and that she would recommend herself by, though without all justice. But her children are reduced so entirely under the dominion of darkness, by means of their continued disobedience to the manifestation of the divine light in their souls, that they forget what man once was, or they should now be; and know not true and pure christianity when they meet it, yet pride themselves to profess it. Their measures are so carnal and false about salvation, they call good evil, and evil good: they make a devil a christian, and a saint a devil. So that though the unrighteous latitude of their lives be matter of lamentation, as to themselves it is of destruction; yet that common apprehension, that they may be children of God while in a state of disobedience to his holy commandments; and disciples of Jesus, though they revolt from his cross; and members of his true church, which is without spot or wrinkle, notwithstanding their lives are

[n] Rev. vi. 9.

are full of ſpots and wrinkles; is, of all other deceptions upon themſelves, the moſt pernicious to their eternal condition. For they are at peace in ſin, and under a ſecurity in their tranſgreſſion. Their vain hope ſilences their convictions, and over-lays all tender motions to repentance: ſo that their miſtake about their duty to God, is as miſchievous as their rebellion againſt him.

Thus they walk on precipices, and flatter themſelves, till the grave ſwallows them up, and the judgment of the great God breaks the lethargy, and undeceives their poor wretched ſouls with the anguiſh of the wicked, as the reward of their work.

§. VIII. This has been, is, and will be the doom of all worldly chriſtians: an end ſo dreadful, that if there were nothing of duty to God, or obligation to men, being a man, and one acquainted with the terrors of the Lord in the way and work of my own ſalvation, compaſſion alone were ſufficient to excite me to this diſſuaſive againſt the world's ſuperſtitions and luſts, and to invite the profeſſors of chriſtianity to the knowledge and obedience of the daily croſs of Chriſt, as the alone way, left by him, and appointed us to bleſſedneſs: that they who now do but uſurp the name, may have the thing; and by the power of the croſs (to which they are now dead, inſtead of being dead to the world by it) may be made partakers of the reſurrection that is in Chriſt Jeſus, unto newneſs of life. For they that are truly in Chriſt, that is redeemed by and intereſted in him, are new creatures. They have received a new will,[o] ſuch as does the will of God, not their own. They pray in truth, and do not mock God, when they ſay, 'thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.' They have new affections, ſuch as are ſet on things above,[p] and make Chriſt their eternal treaſure. New faith ſuch as overcomes ſnares and temptations of the world's ſpirit in themſelves, or as it appears through others: and laſtly, new works, not of ſuperſtitious contrivance, or

[o] Gal. vi. 15. [p] Col. iii. 1, 2, 3.

or of human invention, but the pure fruits of the ſpirit of Chriſt working in them, as love, joy, peace, meekneſs, long-ſuffering, temperance, brotherly-kindneſs, faith, patience, gentleneſs and goodneſs, againſt which there is no law ;[q] and they that have not this ſpirit of Chriſt, and walk not in it, the apoſtle Paul has told us, are none of his ; but the wrath of God, and condemnation of the law, will lie upon them. For if 'there is 'no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt, who 'walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit,'[r] which is Paul's doctrine ; they that walk not according to that Holy Spirit, by his doctrine, are not in Chriſt : that is, have no intereſt in him, nor juſt claim to ſalvation by him : and conſequently there is condemnation to ſuch.

§. IX. And the truth is, the religion of the wicked is a lye : 'there is no peace, ſaith the prophet, to the 'wicked.'[s] Indeed there can be none, they are reproved in their own conſciences, and condemned in their own hearts, in all their diſobedience. Go where they will, rebukes go with them, and oftentimes terrors too : for it is an offended God that pricks them, and who, by his light, ſets their ſins in order before them. Sometimes they ſtrive to appeaſe him, by their corporal framed devotion and worſhip, but in vain; for true worſhipping of God, is doing his will, which they tranſgreſs. The reſt is a falſe compliment, like him that ſaid he would go, and did not.[t] Sometimes they fly to ſports and company, to drown the reprover's voice, and blunt his arrows, to chaſe away troubled thoughts, and ſecure themſelves out of the reach of the diſquieter of their pleaſures : but the Almighty firſt or laſt is ſure to overtake them. There is no flying his final juſtice, for thoſe that reject the terms of his mercy. Impenitent rebels to his law may then call to the mountains, and run to the caves of the earth for protection, but in vain : his all-ſearching eye will penetrate their thickeſt coverings, and ſtrike up a light in

[q] Gal. v. 22, 23. [r] Rom. viii. [s] Iſa. xlviii. 22. [t] Mat. xxi. 30.

in that obſcurity, which ſhall terrify their guilty ſouls; and which they ſhall never be able to extinguiſh. Indeed their accuſer is with them, they can no more be rid of him, than of themſelves; he is in the midſt of them, and will ſtick cloſe to them. That ſpirit which bears witneſs with the ſpirits of the juſt, will bear witneſs againſt theirs. Nay, their own hearts will abundantly come in againſt them; and, 'If our heart 'condemn us, ſays the apoſtle John, God is greater, and 'knows all things:'[u] that is, there is no eſcaping the judgments of God, whoſe power is infinite, if a man is not able to eſcape the condemnation of himſelf. It is at that day, proud and luxurious chriſtians ſhall learn, that God is no reſpecter of perſons; that all ſects and names ſhall be ſwallowed up in theſe two kinds, ſheep and goats, juſt and unjuſt: and the very righteous muſt have a trial for it. Which made that holy man cry out, 'If the righteous ſcarcely are ſaved, where 'ſhall the wicked and ungodly appear?'[w] If their thoughts, words, and works muſt ſtand the teſt, and come under ſcrutiny before the impartial judge of heaven and earth, how then ſhould the ungodly be exempted? No, we are told by him that cannot lye, many ſhall then even cry, Lord, Lord; ſet forth their profeſſion, and recount the works that they have done in his name, to make him propitious, and yet be rejected with this direful ſentence, 'Depart from me, ye 'workers of iniquity, I know you not.'[x] As if he had ſaid, Get you gone, you evil doers; though you have profeſſed me, I will not know you: your vain and evil lives have made you unfit for my holy kingdom: get you hence, and go to the gods whom you have ſerved; your beloved luſts, which you have worſhipped, and the evil world that you have ſo much coveted and adored: let them ſave you now, if they can, from the wrath to come upon you, which is the wages of the deeds you have done. Here is the end of their work that build upon the ſand, the breath of the judge will blow

[u] 1 John. iii. 20. [w] 1 Pet. iv. 18. [x] Mat. vii. 23.

blow it down; and woful will the fall thereof be. Oh, it is now, that the righteous have the better of the wicked! which made an apostate cry in old time, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last 'end be like unto his.'[y] For the sentence is changed, and the judge smiles: he casts the eye of love upon his own sheep, and invites them with a 'come ye 'blessed of my Father,'[z] that through patient continuance in well-doing, have long waited for immortality: you have been the true companions of my tribulations and cross, and with unwearied faithfulness, in obedience to my holy will, valiantly endured to the end, looking to me, the author of your precious faith, for the recompense of reward, that I have promised to them that love me, and faint not: 'O enter ye into the 'joy of your Lord, and inherit the kingdom prepared 'for you from the foundation of the world.'

§. X. O Christendom! my soul most fervently prays, that after all thy lofty professions of Christ and his meek and holy religion, thy unsuitable and un-christ-like life may not cast thee at that great assize of the world, and lose thee so great salvation at last. Hear me once, I beseech thee. Can Christ be thy Lord, and thou not obey him? Or, canst thou be his servant, and never serve him? 'Be not deceived, such as thou soweſt shalt thou 'reap:'[a] he is none of thy Saviour, whilst thou rejectest his grace in thy heart, by which he should save thee. Come, what has he saved thee from? Has he saved thee from thy sinful lusts, thy worldly affections and vain conversations? If not, then he is none of thy Saviour. For though he be offered a Saviour to all, yet he is actually a Saviour to those only, that are saved by him; and none are saved by him, that live in those evils, by which they are lost from God, and which he came to save them from.

It is sin that Christ is come to save man from, and death and wrath, as the wages of it: but those that are not saved, that is, delivered by the power of Christ in their

[y] Numb. xxiii. 10. [z] Mat. xxv. 34. [a] Gal. vi. 7.

their ſouls, from the power that ſin has had over them, can never be ſaved from the death and wrath, that are the aſſured wages of the ſin they live in.

So that look, how far people obtain victory over thoſe evil diſpoſitions and fleſhly luſts they have been addicted to, ſo far they are truly ſaved, and are witneſſes of the redemption that comes by Jeſus Chriſt. His name ſhews this work: 'and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus, 'for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins.'[b] 'And 'lo (ſaid John of Chriſt) the Lamb of God that takes 'away the ſin of the world!'[c] that is, behold him, whom God hath given to enlighten people, and for ſalvation to as many as receive him, and his light and grace in their hearts, and take up their daily croſs, and follow him: ſuch as rather deny themſelves the pleaſure of fulfilling their luſts, than ſin againſt the knowledge he has given them of his will; or do that they know they ought not to do.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. By this Chriſtendom may ſee her lapſe, how foul it is; and next, the worſe for her pretence of chriſtianity. §. 2. But there is mercy with God upon repentance, and propitiation in the blood of Jeſus. §. 3. He is the light of the world, that reproves the darkneſs, that is, the evil of the world; and he is to be known within. §. 4. Chriſtendom, like the inn of old, is full of other gueſts: ſhe is adviſed to believe in, receive and apply to Chriſt. §. 5. Of the nature of true faith; it brings power to overcome every appearance of evil: this leads to conſider the croſs of Chriſt, which has been ſo much wanted. §. 6. The apoſtolick miniſtry, and end of it; its bleſſed effect; the character of apoſtolick times. §. 7. The glory of the croſs, and its triumph over the heathen world. A meaſure to Chriſtendom, what ſhe is not, and ſhould be. §. 8. Her declenſion, and cauſe of it. §. 9. The miſera-

[b] Mat. i. 21. [c] John i. 29.

ble effects that followed. §. 10. From the consideration of the cause, the cure may be more easily known, viz. not faithfully taking up the daily cross; then faithfully taking it daily up, must be the remedy.

§. I. BY all which has been said, O Christendom! and by that better help, if thou wouldst use it, the lamp the Lord has lighted in thee, not utterly extinct, it may evidently appear, first, how great and foul thy backsliding has been, who, from the temple of the Lord, art become a cage of unclean birds; and of an house of prayer, a den of thieves, a synagogue of Satan, and the receptacle of every defiled spirit. Next that, under all this manifest defection, thou hast nevertheless valued thy corrupt self upon thy profession of christianity and fearfully deluded thyself with the hopes of salvation. The first makes thy disease dangerous, but the last almost incurable.

§. II. Yet because there is mercy with the God of bowels that he may be feared, and that he takes no delight in the eternal death of poor sinners, no, though backsliders themselves, but is willing all should come to the knowledge and obedience of the truth, and be saved. He has sent forth his son a propitiation, and given him a Saviour to take away the sins of the whole world, that those that believe and follow him may feel the righteousness of God in the remission of their sins, and blotting out their transgressions for ever.[a] Now, behold the remedy! an infallible cure, one of God's appointing; a precious elixir indeed, that never failed; and that universal medicine which no malady could ever escape.

§. III. But thou wilt say, what is Christ, and where is he to be found? And how received and applied in order to this mighty cure? I tell thee then: first, he is the great spiritual light of the world, that enlightens every one that comes into the world; by which he manifests

[a] Ezek. xviii. 20, 23, 24. Mat. i. 21. Luke i. 77. Rom. iii. 25. Heb. ix. 24. to 28. 1 John ii. 1, 2.

manifeſts to them their deeds of darkneſs and wickedneſs, and reproves them for committing them. Secondly, he is not far away from thee, as the apoſtle Paul ſaid of God to the Athenians: behold (ſays Chriſt himſelf) 'I ſtand at the door and knock; if any man 'hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to 'him, and ſup with him, and he with me.'[b] What door can this be, but that of the heart of man?

§. IV. Thou, like the inn of old, haſt been full of other gueſts: thy affections have entertained other lovers: there has been no room for thy Saviour in thy ſoul. Wherefore ſalvation is not yet come into thy houſe, though it come to thy door, and thou haſt been often proffered it, and haſt profeſt it long. But if he calls, if he knocks ſtill, that is, if his light yet ſhines, if it reproves thee ſtill, there is hopes thy day is not over; and that repentance is not hid from thine eyes; but his love is after thee ſtill, and his holy invitation continues to ſave thee.

Wherefore, O Chriſtendom! believe, receive, and apply him rightly; this is of abſolute neceſſity, that thy ſoul may live for ever with him. He told the Jews, 'If you believe not that I am he, ye ſhall die 'in your ſins; and whither I go you cannot come.'[c] And becauſe they believed him not, they did not receive him nor any benefit by him: but they that believed him, received him: 'and as many as received 'him,' his own beloved diſciple tells us, 'to them 'gave he power to become the ſons of God, which are 'born not of blood, nor of the will of fleſh, nor of the 'will of man, but of God.'[d] That is, who are not children of God after the faſhions, preſcriptions, and traditions of men, that call themſelves his church and people (which is not after the will of fleſh and blood, and the invention of carnal man, unacquainted with the regeneration and power of the Holy Ghoſt) but of God; that is, according to his will, and the working and ſanctifi-

[b] Acts xvii. 27. Rev. iii. 20. [c] 1 John viii. 22, 24
[d] John i. 12, 13.

ſanctification of his ſpirit and word of life in them. And ſuch were ever well verſed in the right application of Chriſt, for he was made to them indeed propitiation, reconciliation, ſalvation, righteouſneſs, redemption and juſtification.

So I ſay to thee, unleſs thou believeſt, that he that ſtands at the door of thy heart and knocks, and ſets thy ſins in order before thee, and calls thee to repentance, be the Saviour of the world, thou wilt die in thy ſins, and where he is gone, thou wilt never come. For if thou believeſt not in him, it is impoſſible that he ſhould do thee good, or effect thy ſalvation: Chriſt works not againſt faith but by it. It is ſaid of old, he did not many mighty works in ſome places, becauſe the people believed not in him.[e] So that if thou truly believeſt in him, thine ear will be attentive to his voice in thee, and the door of thine heart open to his knocks. Thou wilt yield to the diſcoveries of his light, and the teachings of his grace will be very dear to thee.

§. V. It is the nature of true faith to beget an holy fear of offending God, a deep reverence to his precepts, and a moſt tender regard to the inward teſtimony of his ſpirit, as that, by which his children, in all ages, have been ſafely led to glory. For as they that truly believe, receive Chriſt in all his tenders to the ſoul, ſo, as true it is, that thoſe who receive him thus, with him, receive power to become the ſons of God: that is, an inward force and ability to do whatever he requires: ſtrength to mortify their luſts, controul their affections, reſiſt evil motions, deny themſelves, and overcome the world in its moſt inticing appearances. This is the life of the bleſſed Croſs of Chriſt, which is the ſubject of the following diſcourſe, and what thou, O man, muſt take up, if thou intendeſt to be the diſciple of Jeſus. Nor canſt thou be ſaid to receive Chriſt, or believe in him, whilſt thou rejecteſt his croſs. For as receiving of Chriſt is the means appointed of God to ſalvation, ſo bearing thy daily croſs after him is the only true

[e] Mark vi. 5.

true teſtimony of receiving him; and therefore it is enjoined by him, as the great token of diſcipleſhip, 'Whoſoever will be my diſciple, let him take up his 'daily croſs, and follow me.'[f]

This, Chriſtendom, is that thou haſt ſo much wanted, and the want of which has proved the only cauſe of thy miſerable declenſion from pure chriſtianity. To conſider which well (as it is thy duty,) ſo it is of great uſe to thy reſtoration.

For as the knowledge of the cauſe of any diſtemper guides the phyſician to make a right and ſafe judgment in the application of his medicine, ſo it will much enlighten thee in the way of thy recovery, to know and weigh the firſt cauſe of thy ſpiritual lapſe and malady that has befallen thee. To do which, a general view of thy primitive ſtate, and conſequently of their work that firſt laboured in the chriſtian vineyard, will be needful; and if therein ſomething be repeated, the weight and dignity of the ſubject will bear it without the need of an apology.

§. VI. The work of apoſtleſhip, we are told by a prime labourer in it, was to turn people from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.[g] That is, inſtead of yielding to the temptations and motions of Satan, who is the prince of darkneſs (or wickedneſs, the one being a metaphor to the other) by whoſe power their underſtandings were obſcured, and their ſouls held in the ſervice of ſin, they ſhould turn their minds to the appearance of Chriſt, the light and Saviour of the world; who by his light ſhines in their ſouls, and thereby gives them a ſight of their ſins, and diſcovers every temptation and motion in them unto evil, and reproves them when they give way thereunto; that ſo they might become the children of light, and walk in the path of righteouſneſs. And for this bleſſed work of reformation, did Chriſt endue his apoſtles with his ſpirit and power, that ſo men might not longer ſleep in a ſecurity of ſin and ignorance of God, but awake to

[f] Mat. xvi. 24. [g] Acts xxvi. 18.

to righteousness, that the Lord Jesus might give them life, that is, that they might leave off sinning, deny themselves the pleasure of wickedness, and by true repentance turn their hearts to God, in well-doing, in which is peace. And truly, God so blessed the faithful labours of these poor mechanicks, yet his great ambassadors to mankind, that in a few years many thousands (that had lived without God in the world, without a sense or fear of him, lawlessly, very strangers to the work of his spirit in their hearts, being captivated by fleshly lusts) were inwardly struck and quickened by the word of life, and made sensible of the coming and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a judge and lawgiver in their souls, by whose holy light and spirit, the hidden things of darkness were brought to light and condemned, and pure repentance from those dead works begotten in them, that they might serve the living God in newness of spirit. So that thenceforward they lived not to themselves, neither were they carried away of those former divers lusts, by which they had been seduced from the true fear of God; but the law of the spirit of life, by which they overcame the law of sin and death, was their delight; and therein did they meditate day and night.[h] Their regard towards God was not taught by the precepts of men any longer, but from the knowledge they had received by his own work and impressions in their souls.[i] They had not quitted their old masters, the world, the flesh, and the devil, and delivered up themselves to the holy guidance of the grace of Christ, that taught them to deny ungodliness, and the world's lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present life;[k] this is the Cross of Christ indeed; and here is the victory it gives to them that take it up: by this cross they died daily to the old life they had lived; and by holy watchfulness against the secret motions of evil in their hearts, they crushed sin in its conceptions, yea, in its temptations. So that they

[h] Rom, viii. 2. [i] Isa. xxix. 13. [k] Tit. 11, 12.

they (as the apoſtle John adviſed them) kept themſelves, that the evil one touched them not.[l]

For the light, which Satan cannot endure, and with which Chriſt had enlightened them, diſcovered him in all his approaches and aſſaults upon the mind, and the power they received through their inward obedience to the manifeſtations of that bleſſed light, enabled them to reſiſt and vanquiſh him in all his ſtratagems. And thus it was, that where once nothing was examined, nothing went unexamined. Every thought muſt come to judgment, and the riſe and tendency of it be alſo well approved, before they allow it any room in their minds. There was no fear of entertaining enemies for friends, whilſt this ſtrict guard was kept upon the very wicket of the ſoul. Now the old heavens and earth, that is, the old earthly converſation, and old carnal, that is Jewiſh or ſhadowy worſhip paſſed away apace, and every day all things became new. 'He was no more a Jew, that 'was one outwardly, nor that circumciſion that was in 'the fleſh; but he was the Jew, that was one inwardly; 'and that circumciſion, which was of the heart, in the 'ſpirit, and not in the letter, whoſe praiſe is not of man 'but of God.'[m]

§. VII. Indeed the glory of the Croſs ſhined ſo conſpicuouſly through the ſelf-denial of their lives who daily bore it, that it ſtruck the heathen with aſtoniſhment, and in a ſmall time ſo ſhook their altars, diſcredited their oracles, ſtruck the multitude, invaded the court and overcame their armies, that it led prieſts magiſtrates, and generals, in triumph after it, as the trophies of its power and victory.

And while this integrity dwelt with chriſtians, mighty was the preſence and invincible that power that attended them: it quenched fire, daunted lions, turned the edge of the ſword, out-faced inſtruments of cruelty, convicted judges, and converted executioners. In fine, the ways their enemies took to deſtroy, increaſed them; and by the deep wiſdom of God, they were made

[l] 1 John v. 18. [m] Rom. ii. 28, 29.

made great promoters of the truth, who in all their designs endeavoured to extinguish it. Now not a vain thought nor an idle word, nor an unseemly action was permitted: no, not an immodest look; no courtly dress, gay apparel, complimental respects, or personal honours; much less those lewd immoralities, and scandalous vices now in vogue with christians, could find either example or connivance among them.[n] Their care was not how to sport away their precious time, but how to redeem it, that they might have enough to work out their great salvation (which they carefully did) with fear and trembling;[o] not with balls and masks, with play-houses, dancing, feasting, and gaming: no not to make sure of their heavenly calling and election, was much dearer to them, than the poor and trifling joys of mortality. For they having with Moses seen him that is invisible, and found that his loving-kindness was better than life, the peace of his spirit than the favour of princes; as they feared not Cæsar's wrath, so they chose rather to sustain the afflictions of Christ's true pilgrims, than enjoy the pleasures of sin, that were but for a season; esteeming his reproaches of more value than the perishing treasures of the earth. And if the tribulations of christianity were more eligible than the comforts of the world, and the reproaches of one than all the honour of the other; there was then surely no temptation in it, that could shake the integrity of Christendom.

§. VIII. By this short draught of what Christendom was, thou mayest see, O Christendom, what thou art not, and consequently what thou oughtest to be. But how comes it, that from a Christendom that was thus meek, merciful, self-denying, suffering, temperate, holy, just, and good, so like to Christ, whose name she bore, we find a Christendom now, that is superstitious, idolatrous, persecuting, proud, passionate, envious, malicious, selfish, drunken, lascivious, unclean, lying,

[n] Heb. xi. 32, to the end. Isa. lxiii. 2. Dan. iii. 12. to the end. Dan. vi. 16. to the end. [o] Eph. v. 15, 16.

ing, ſwearing, curſing, covetous, oppreſſing, defrauding, with all other abominations known in the earth, and that to an exceſs juſtly ſcandalous to the worſt of heathen ages, ſurpaſſing them more in evil than in time; I ſay, how comes this lamentable defection?

I lay this down, as the undoubted reaſon of this degeneracy, to wit, the inward diſregard of thy mind to the light of Chriſt ſhining in thee; that firſt ſhewed thee thy ſins, and reproved them, and that taught and enabled thee to deny and reſiſt them. For as thy fear towards God, and holy abſtinence from unrighteouſneſs was, at firſt, not taught by the precepts of men, but by that light and grace, which revealed the moſt ſecret thoughts and purpoſes of thine heart, and ſearched the moſt inward part of thy belly (ſetting thy ſins in order before thee, and reproving thee for them, not ſuffering one unfruitful thought, word or work of darkneſs, to go unjudged) ſo when thou didſt begin to diſregard that light and grace, to be careleſs about that holy watch, that was once ſet up in thine heart, and didſt not keep centinel there (as formerly) for God's glory, and thy own peace; the reſtleſs enemy of man's good quickly took advantage of this ſlackneſs, and often ſurprized thee with temptations, whoſe ſuitableneſs to thy inclinations made his conqueſt over thee not difficult.

In ſhort, thou didſt omit to take up Chriſt's holy yoke, to bear thy daily croſs; thou waſt careleſs of thy affections, and kept no journal or check upon thy actions; but didſt decline to audit accounts, in thy own conſcience, with Chriſt thy light, the great biſhop of thy ſoul, and judge of thy works, whereby the holy fear decayed, and love waxed cold; vanity abounded, and duty became burdenſome. Then up came formality inſtead of the power of godlineſs; ſuperſtition, in place of Chriſt's inſtitution: and whereas Chriſt's buſineſs was, to draw off the minds of his diſciples from an outward temple, and carnal rites and ſervices, to the inward and ſpiritual worſhip of God (ſuitable to the nature of divinity) a worldly, human, pompous worſhip

is brought in again, and a worldly prieſthood, temple and altar re-eſtabliſhed. Now it was that the 'ſons of 'God once more ſaw the daughters of men were fair:[p] that is, the pure eye grew dim, which repentance had opened, that ſaw no comelineſs out of Chriſt; and the eye of luſt became uncloſed again, by the god of the world; and thoſe worldly pleaſures, that make ſuch as love them forget God (though once deſpiſed for the ſake of Chriſt) began now to recover their old beauty and intereſt in thy affections; and from liking them to be the ſtudy, care, and pleaſure of thy life.

True, there ſtill remained the exterior forms of worſhip, and a nominal and oral reverence to God and Chriſt; but that was all: for the offence of the holy croſs ceaſed, the power of godlineſs was denied, ſelf-denial loſt; and though fruitful in the invention of ceremonious ornaments, yet barren in the bleſſed fruits of the Spirit. And a thouſand ſhells cannot make one kernel, or many dead corps one living man.

§. IX. Thus religion fell from experience to tradition, and worſhip from power to form, from life to letter; that inſtead of putting up lively and powerful requeſts, animated by the deep ſenſe of want, and the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, by which the ancients prayed, wreſtled and prevailed with God; behold a by-rote mumpſimus, a dull and inſipid formality, made up of corporal bowings, and cringings, garments, and furnitures, perfumes, voices and muſick; fitter for the reception of ſome earthly prince, than the heavenly worſhip of the only true and immortal God, who is an eternal, inviſible ſpirit.

But thy heart growing carnal, thy religion did ſo too; and not liking it as it was, thou faſhionedſt it to thy liking; forgetting what the holy prophet ſaid, 'the 'ſacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord,'[q] and what James ſaith, 'Ye aſk, and ye receive not (why?) 'becauſe ye aſk amiſs;'[r] that is, with an heart that is not right, but inſincere, unmortified, not in the faith

[p] Gen. vi. 2. [q] Prov. xv. 8. [r] James iv. 3.

faith that purifies the ſoul, and therefore can never receive what is aſked: ſo that a man may ſay with truth, thy condition is worſe by thy religion, becauſe thou art tempted to think thyſelf the better for it, and art not.

§. X. Well! by this proſpect that is given thee, of thy ſoul fall from primitive chriſtianity, and the true cauſe of it, to wit, a neglect of the daily croſs of Chriſt, it may be eaſy for thee to inform thyſelf of the way of thy recovery.

For look, at what door thou wenteſt out, at that door thou muſt come in: and as letting fall, and forbearing the daily croſs loſt thee; ſo taking up, and enduring the daily croſs, muſt recover thee. It is the ſame way, by which the ſinners and apoſtates become the diſciples of Jeſus. 'Whoſoever (ſays Chriſt) will come after 'me, and be my diſciple, let him deny himſelf, and 'take up his daily croſs, and follow me.'[s] Nothing ſhort of this will do; mark that, for as it is ſufficient ſo it is indiſpenſible: no Crown, but by the Croſs; no life eternal, but through death: and it is but juſt, that thoſe evil and barbarous affections, that crucified Chriſt afreſh, ſhould, by his holy croſs be crucified. Blood requires blood; his croſs is the death of ſin, that cauſed his death; and he the death of death, according to that paſſage, O death! I will be thy death![t]

CHAP. III.

§. 1. What the croſs of Chriſt is? A figurative ſpeech. But truly the divine power, that mortifies the world. §. 2. It is ſo called by the apoſtle Paul to the Corinthians. §. 3. Where it is the croſs appears, and muſt be borne? Within, where the luſts are, there they muſt be crucified. §. 4. Experience teaches every one this, to be ſure Chriſt aſſerts it, from within comes murder, &c. and that is the houſe where the ſtrong man muſt be bound. §. 5. How is the croſs to be borne? The way

[s] Mat. xvi. 21. Mark viii. 34. Luke xiv 27. [t] Hoſ. xiii. 14. 1 Cor. xv. 55.

way is ſpiritual, a denial of ſelf, the pleaſure of ſin, to pleaſe God and obey his will, as manifeſted to the ſoul by the light he gives it. §. 6. This ſhews the difficulty, yet the neceſſity of the croſs.

THE daily croſs being then, and ſtill, O Chriſtendom, the way to glory; that the ſucceeding matter, which wholly relates to the doctrine of it, may come with moſt evidence and advantage upon thy conſcience, it is moſt ſeriouſly to be conſidered by thee,

Firſt, What the croſs of Chriſt is?

Secondly, Where the croſs of Chriſt is to be taken up?

Thirdly, How, and after what manner it is to be borne?

Fourthly, What is the great work and buſineſs of the croſs? In which

The ſins it crucifies, with the miſchiefs that attend them, will be at large expreſſed.

Fifthly, and laſtly, I ſhall add many teſtimonies from living and dying perſons, of great reputation either for their quality, learning, or piety, as a general confirmation of the whole tract.

To the firſt, what is the croſs of Chriſt?

§. I. The croſs of Chriſt is a figurative ſpeech, borrowed from the outward tree, or wooden croſs, on which Chriſt ſubmitted to the will of God, in permitting him to ſuffer death at the hands of evil men. So that the croſs myſtical, is that divine grace and power, which croſſes the carnal wills of men, and gives a contradiction to their corrupt affections, and that conſtantly oppoſeth itſelf to the inordinate and fleſhly appetite of their minds, and ſo may be juſtly termed the inſtrument of man's holy dying to the world, and being made conformable to the will of God. For nothing elſe can mortify ſin, or make it eaſy for us to ſubmit to the divine will, in things otherwiſe very contrary to our own.

§. II. The preaching of the croſs therefore in primitive times was fitly called by Paul (that famous and ſkilful apoſtle in ſpiritual things) the power of God, though

though to them that perish, then, as now, foolishness. That is, to those that were truly weary and heavy laden, and needed a deliverer; to whom sin was burdensome and odious, the preaching of the cross, by which sin was to be mortified, was, as to them, the power of God, or a preaching of the divine power, by which they were made disciples of Christ, and children of God: and it wrought so powerfully upon them, that no proud or licentious mockers could put them out of love with it. But to those that walked in the broad way, in the full latitude of their lusts, and dedicated their time and care to the pleasure of their corrupt appetites, to whom all yoke and bridle were and are intolerable, the preaching of the cross was, and is, foolishness: to which I may add, in the name but of too many now-a-days, and the practice ridiculous; embraced by none, if they may be believed, but half-witted people of stingy and singular tempers, affected by the hypochondry, and oppressed with the power of melancholy; for all this, and more, is bestowed upon the life of the blessed cross of Christ, by the very professors and pretended admirers of it, in the persons of those who truly bear it.

§. III. Well, but then where does this cross appear, and must it be taken up?

I answer, within: that is, in the heart and soul; for where the sin is, the cross must be. Now, all evil comes from within: this Christ taught. 'From within (saith Christ) 'out of the heart of men proceed evil thoughts, 'adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, 'wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blas-'phemy, pride, foolishness: all these evils come from 'within, and defile the man.'[u]

The heart of man is the seat of sin, and where he is defiled, he must be sanctified; and where sin lives, there it must die: it must be crucified. Custom in evil hath made it natural to men to do evil; and as the soul rules the body, so this corrupt nature sways the whole man: but still, it is all from within.

§. IV. Ex-

[u] Mark vii. 11, 22, 23.

§. IV. Experience teaches every ſon and daughter of Adam an aſſent to this; for the enemies temptations are ever directed to the mind, which is within: if they take not, the ſoul ſins not; if they are embraced, luſt is preſently conceived (that is, inordinate deſires) 'luſt 'conceived, brings forth ſin; and ſin finiſhed (that is, 'acted) brings forth death.'[b] Here is both the cauſe and the effect, the very genealogy of ſin, its riſe and end.

In all this, the heart of evil man is the devil's mint, his work-houſe, the place of his reſidence, where he exerciſes his power and art. And therefore the redemption of the ſoul is aptly called, the deſtruction of the works of the devil, and bringing in of everlaſting righteouſneſs.[c] When the Jews would have defamed Chriſt's miracle of caſting out devils, by a blaſphemous imputation of it to the power of Beelzebub, he ſays, 'That no 'man can enter a ſtrong man's houſe, and ſpoil his 'goods, till he firſt bind the ſtrong man.'[d] Which as it ſhews the contrariety that was between Beelzebub, and the power by which he diſpoſſeſſed him; ſo it teaches us to know, that the ſouls of the wicked are the devil's houſe, and that his goods, his evil works, can never be deſtroyed, till firſt he that wrought them, and keeps the houſe, be bound. All which makes it eaſy to know, where the croſs muſt be taken up, by which alone the ſtrong man muſt be bound, his goods ſpoiled, and his temptations reſiſted: this is, within, in the heart of man.

§. V. But in the next place, how, and in what manner is the croſs to be daily borne?

The way, like the croſs, is ſpiritual: that is, an inward ſubmiſſion of the ſoul to the will of God, as it is manifeſted by the light of Chriſt in the conſciences of men: though it be contrary to their own inclinations. For example: when evil preſents, that which ſhews the evil does alſo tell them, they ſhould not yield to it; and if they cloſe with its counſel, it gives them power to

[b] James i. 15. [c] 1 John iii. 8. [d] Mark iii. 27.

to escape it. But they that look and gaze upon the temptation, at last fall in with it, and are overcome by it; the consequence of which is guilt and judgment. Therefore as the cross of Christ is that spirit and power in men, though not of men, but of God, which crosseth and reproveth their fleshly lusts and affections: so the way of taking up the cross is, an entire resignation of soul to the discoveries and requirings of it; not to consult their worldly pleasure, or carnal ease, or interest (for such are captivated in a moment) but continually to watch against the very appearances of evil, and by the obedience of faith, that is, of true love to and confidence in God, cheerfully to offer up, to the death of the cross, that evil part, that Judas in themselves, which, not enduring the heat of the siege, and being impatient in the hour of temptation, would, by its near relation to the tempter, more easily betray their souls into his hands.

§. VI. O this shews to every experience, how hard it is to be a true disciple of Jesus! the way is narrow indeed, and the gate very strait, where not a word, no not a thought must slip the watch, or escape judgment: such circumspection, such caution, such patience, such constancy, such holy fear and trembling. This gives an easy interpretation to that hard saying, 'flesh and blood 'cannot inherit the kingdom of God:'[e] those that are captivated with fleshly lusts and affections; for they cannot bear the cross; and they that cannot endure the cross, must never have the crown. To reign, it is necessary first to suffer.[f]

CHAP. IV.

§. 1. What is the great work of the cross? The answer to this of great moment. §. 2. The work of the cross is self-denial. §. 3. What was the cup and cross of Christ? §. 4. What is our cup and cross? §. 5. Our duty

[e] Mat. xxiv. 42. xxv. 13. xxvi. 38, 42. [f] Phil. ii. 12. 1 Th. iii. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 50.

duty is to follow Christ as our captain. §. 6. Of the distinction upon self, a lawful and unlawful self. §. 7. What the lawful self is. §. 8. That is to be denied in some cases, by Christ's doctrine and example. §. 9. By the apostles pattern. §. 10. The danger of preferring lawful self above our duty to God. §. 11. The reward of self-denial, an excitement to it. §. 12. This doctrine as old as Abraham. §. 13. His obedience of faith memorable. §. 14. Job a great instance of self-denial, his contentment. §. 15. Moses also a mighty example, his neglect of Pharaoh's court. §. 16. His choice. §. 17. The reason of it, viz. the recompense of reward. §. 18. Isaiah no inconsiderable instance, who of a courtier became an holy prophet. §. 19. These instances concluded with that of holy Daniel, his patience and integrity, and the success they had upon the king. §. 20. There might be many mentioned to confirm this blessed doctrine. §. 21. All must be left for Christ, as men would be saved. §. 22. The way of God is a way of faith and self-denial. §. 23. An earnest supplication and exhortation to all to attend upon these things.

Q. BUT fourthly, what is the great work and business of the cross respecting man?

Answ. §. I. This indeed is of that mighty moment to be truly, plainly, and thoroughly answered, that all that went before seems only to serve for preface to it; and miscarrying in it, to be no less than a misguidance of the soul about its way to blessedness. I shall therefore pursue the question, with God's help, and the best knowledge, he hath given me, in the experience of several years discipleship.

The great work and business of the cross of Christ, in man, is self-denial; a word, as of much depth in itself, so of sore contradiction to the world; little understood, but less embraced by it; yet it must be borne for all that. The Son of God is gone before us, and by the bitter cup he drank, and baptism he suffered, has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. Which made

made him put that hard queſtion to the wife of Zebedee and her two ſons, upon her ſoliciting that one might ſit at his right, and the other at his left hand in his kingdom; 'are ye able to drink of the cup that I ſhall 'drink of, and to be baptized with the baptiſm I am 'baptized with?'[d] It ſeems their faith was ſtrong; 'they anſwered, we are able. Upon which he replied, 'Ye ſhall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with 'the baptiſm I am baptized with;' but their reward he left to his Father.

§. III. What was his cup he drank, and baptiſm he ſuffered? I anſwer; they were the denial and offering up of himſelf by the eternal ſpirit to the will of God, undergoing the tribulations of his life, and agonies of his death, upon the croſs, for man's ſalvation.

§. IV. What is our cup and croſs that we ſhould drink and ſuffer? They are the denying and offering up of ourſelves, by the ſame ſpirit, to do or ſuffer the will of God for his ſervice and glory: which is the true life and obedience of the croſs of Jeſus: narrow ſtill, but before, an unbeaten way. For when there was none to help, not one to open the ſeals, to give knowledge, to direct the courſe of poor man's recovery, he came in the greatneſs of his love and ſtrength, and though clothed with the infirmities of a mortal man, being within fortified by the Almightineſs of an immortal God, he travelled through all the ſtraits and difficulties of humanity; and firſt, of all others, trod the untrodden path to bleſſedneſs.

§. V. O come let us follow him, the moſt unwearied, the moſt victorious captain of our ſalvation! to whom all the great Alexanders and mighty Cæſars of the world are leſs than the pooreſt ſoldiers of their camps could be to them. True, they were all great princes of their kind, and conquerors too, but on very differing principles. For Chriſt made himſelf of no reputation to ſave mankind; but theſe plentifully ruined people, to augment theirs. They vanquiſhed others,

[d] Mat. xx. 21, 22, 23.

not themſelves; Chriſt conquered ſelf, that ever vanquiſhed them; of merit therefore the moſt excellent prince and conqueror. Beſides, they advanced their empire by rapine and blood, but he by ſuffering and perſuaſion; he never by compulſion, they always by force, prevailed. Miſery and ſlavery followed all their victories; his brought greater freedom and felicity to thoſe he overcame. In all they did, they ſought to pleaſe themſelves; in all he did, he aimed to pleaſe his Father, who is God of gods, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

It is this moſt perfect pattern of ſelf-denial we muſt follow, if ever we will come to glory; to do which, let us conſider ſelf-denial in its true diſtinction and extent.

§. VI. There is a lawful and unlawful ſelf, and both muſt be denied, for the ſake of him, that in ſubmiſſion to the will of God counting nothing dear, that he might ſave us. And though the world be ſcarcely in any part of it at that paſs, as yet to need that leſſon of the denial of lawful ſelf, that every day moſt greedily ſacrifices to the pleaſure of unlawful ſelf: yet to take the whole thing before me, and for that it may poſſibly meet with ſome that are ſo far advanced in this ſpiritual warfare, as to receive ſome ſervice from it, I ſhall at leaſt touch upon it.

§. VII. The lawful ſelf, which we are to deny, is that conveniency, eaſe, enjoyment and plenty, which in themſelves are ſo far from being evil, that they are the bounty and bleſſings of God to us: as huſband, wife, child, houſe, land, reputation, liberty, and life itſelf; theſe are God's favours, which we may enjoy with lawful pleaſure, and juſtly improve as our honeſt intereſt. But when God requires them, at what time ſoever the lender calls for them, or is pleaſed to try our affections by our parting with them; I ſay, when they are brought in competition with him, they muſt not be preferred, they muſt be denied. Chriſt himſelf deſcended from the glory of his Father, and willingly made

made himself of no reputation among men, that he might make us of some with God; and, from the quality of thinking it no robbery to be equal with God,[h] he humbled himself to the poor form of a servant; yea, the ignominious death of the cross, that he might deliver us an example of pure humility, and entire submission to the will of our heavenly Father.

§. VIII. It is the doctrine he teaches us in these words: 'He that loveth father or mother, son or daughter, 'more than me, he is not worthy of me.'[i] Again, 'Whosoever he be of you, that forsaketh not all that he 'hath, cannot be my disciple.'[k] And he plainly told the young rich man, that if he would have eternal life, he should sell all, and follow him: a doctrine sad to him, as it is to those that like him (for all their high pretences to religion) in truth love their possessions more than Christ. This doctrine of self-denial is the condition to eternal happiness: 'He that will come after 'me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and 'follow me.'[l] Let him do as I do: as if he had said, he must do as I do, or he cannot be as I am, the Son of God.

§. IX. This made those honest fishermen quit their lawful trades, and follow him, when he called them to it; and others, that waited for the consolation of Israel, to offer up their estates, reputations, liberties, and also lives, to the displeasure and fury of their kindred, and the government they lived under, for the spiritual advantage that accrued to them, by their faithful adherence to his holy doctrine. True, many would have excused their following of him in that parable of the feast: some had bought land, some had married wives, and others had bought yokes of oxen, and could not come;[m] that is, an immoderate love of the world hindered them; their lawful enjoyments, from servants, became their idols; they worshipped them more than God,

[h] Phil. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. [i] Mat. x. 37. Luke xiv. 33. [k] Mark x. 21, 22. [l] Mat. xvi. 24. [m] Luke xiv. 18, 19, 20.

God, and would not quit them to come to God. But this is recorded to their reproach: and we may herein see the power of self upon the worldly man, and the danger that comes to him by the abuse of lawful things. What, thy wife dearer to thee than thy Saviour! and thy land and oxen preferred before thy soul's salvation! O beware, that thy comforts prove not snares first, and then curses; to over-rate them, is to provoke him that gave them to take them away again; come and follow him that giveth life eternal to the soul.

§. X. Wo to them that have their hearts in their earthly possessions! for when they are gone, their heaven is gone with them. It is too much the sin of the best part of the world, that they stick in the comforts of it: and it is lamentable to behold how their affections are bemired and entangled with their conveniencies and accommodations, in it. The true self-denying man is a pilgrim; but the selfish man is an inhabitant of the world; the one uses it, as men do ships, to transport themselves, or tackle in a journey, that is, to get home; the other looks no farther, whatever he prates, than to be fixed in fulness and ease here, and likes it so well, that if he could, he would not exchange. However, he will not trouble himself to think of the other world, till he is sure he must live no longer in this: but then, alas! it will prove too late; not to Abraham, but to Dives, he must go; the story is as true as sad.

§. XI. But on the other hand, it is not for nought that the disciples of Jesus deny themselves: and indeed, Christ himself had the eternal joy in his eye: for the joy that was set before him (says the author to the Hebrews) he endured the cross; that is, he denied himself, and bore the reproaches and death of the wicked: and despised the shame, to wit, the dishonour and derision of the world. It made him not afraid nor shrink, he contemned it: and is set down on the right hand of the throne of God.[n] And to their encouragement, and great consolation, when Peter asked him, what

[n] Heb. xii. 2.

what they ſhould have that had forſaken all to follow him? he anſwered them, 'Verily I ſay unto you, that 'ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when 'the Son of man ſhall ſit on the throne of his glory, 'ye alſo ſhall ſit upon twelve thrones, judging the 'twelve tribes of Iſrael,'[o] that were then in apoſtacy from the life and power of godlineſs. This was the lot of his diſciples; the more immediate companions of his tribulations, and firſt meſſengers of his kingdom. But the next that follows is to all: 'And every one that 'hath forſaken houſes, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, 'or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my 'name's ſake, ſhall receive an hundred fold, and ſhall 'inherit everlaſting life.' It was this recompenſe of reward, this eternal crown of righteouſneſs, that in every age has raiſed, in the ſouls of the juſt, an holy neglect, yea, contempt of the world. To this is owing the conſtancy of the martyrs, as to their blood the triumph of the truth.

§. XII. Nor is this a new doctrine; it is as old as Abraham.[p] In ſeveral moſt remarkable inſtances, his life was made up of ſelf-denial. Firſt, in quitting his own land, where we may well ſuppoſe him ſettled in the midſt of plenty, at leaſt ſufficiency: and why? Becauſe God called him. Indeed this ſhould be reaſon enough; but ſuch is the world's degeneracy, that in fact it is not: and the ſame act, upon the ſame inducement, in any now, though praiſed in Abraham, would be derided. So apt are people not to underſtand what they commend; nay, to deſpiſe thoſe actions, when they meet them in the people of their own times, which they pretended to admire in their anceſtors.

§. XIII. But he obeyed: the conſequence was, that God gave him a mighty land. This was the firſt reward of his obedience. The next was, a ſon in his old age; and which greatened the bleſſing, after it had been in nature, paſt the time of his wife's bearing of children.[q] Yet God called for his darling, their only child,

[o] Mat. xix. 27, 28, 29. [p] Gen xii. [q] Gen. xviii.

child, the joy of their age, the ſon of a miracle, and he upon whom the fulfilling of the promiſe made to Abraham did depend. For this ſon, I ſay, God called: a mighty trial, that which, one would have thought, might very well have overturned his faith, and ſtumbled his integrity: at leaſt have put him upon this diſpute in himſelf: this command is unreaſonable and cruel; it is the tempter's, it cannot be God's. For, is it to be thought that God gave me a ſon to make a ſacrifice of him? That the father ſhould be butcher of his only child? Again, that he ſhould require me to offer up the ſon of his own promiſe, by whom his covenant is to be performed? this is incredible. I ſay, thus Abraham might naturally enough have argued, to withſtand the voice of God, and indulge his great affections to his beloved Iſaac. But good old Abraham that knew the voice that had promiſed him a ſon, had not forgot to know it, when it required him back again:[r] he diſputes not, though it looked ſtrange, and perhaps with ſome ſurprize and horror, as a man. He had learned to believe, that God that gave him a child by a miracle, could work another to preſerve or reſtore him. His affections could not balance his duty, much leſs overcome his faith; for he received him in a way that would let him doubt of nothing that God had promiſed of him.

To the voice of this Almightineſs he bows, builds an altar, binds his only ſon upon it, kindles the fire, and ſtretches forth his hand to take the knife; but the angel ſtopped the ſtroke. 'Hold, Abraham, thy integrity 'is proved.' What followed? A ram ſerved, and Iſaac was his again. This ſhews how little ſerves, where all is reſigned, and how mean a ſacrifice contents the Almighty, where the heart is approved. So that it is not the ſacrifice that recommends the heart, but the heart that gives the ſacrifice acceptance.

God often touches our beſt comforts, and calls for that which we moſt love, and are leaſt willing to part with

[r] Gen. xxi.

with. Not that he always takes it utterly away, but to prove the ſoul's integrity, to caution us from exceſſes, and that we may remember God, the author of thoſe bleſſings we poſſeſs, and live looſe to them. I ſpeak my experience; the way to keep our enjoyments, is to reſign them, and though that be hard, it is ſweet to ſee them returned, as Iſaac was to his father Abraham, with more love and bleſſing than before. O ſtupid world! O worldly chriſtians! Not only ſtrangers, but enemies to this excellent faith! and whilſt ſo, the reward of it you can never know.

§. XIV. But Job preſſed hard upon Abraham; his ſelf-denial alſo was very ſignal. For when the meſſengers of his afflictions came thick upon him, one doleful ſtory after another, till he was left as naked as when he was born; the firſt thing he did, he fell to the ground, and worſhipped that power, and kiſſed that hand that ſtripped him; ſo far from murmuring, that he concludes his loſſes of eſtate and children with theſe words: 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and 'naked ſhall I return: the Lord gave, and the Lord 'hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord.'[r] O the deep faith, patience, and contentment of this excellent man: one would have thought, this repeated news of ruin had been enough to have overſet his confidence in God: but it did not: that ſtayed him. But indeed he tells us why; his Redeemer lived: 'I know '(ſays he) that my Redeemer lives.'[s] And it appeared he did: for he had redeemed him from the world: his heart was not in his worldly comforts; his hope lived above the joys of time, and troubles of mortality, not tempted by the one nor ſhaken by the other; but firmly believed, 'that when after his ſkin worms ſhould 'have conſumed his body, yet with his eyes he ſhould ſee God.' Thus was the heart of Job both ſubmitted to, and comforted in, the will of God.

§. XV. Moſes is the next great example in ſacred ſtory for remarkable ſelf-denial, before the times of Chriſt's

[r] Job i. 21. [s] Job xix. 25, 26.

Chriſt's appearance in the fleſh. He had been ſaved, when an infant, by an extraordinary Providence, and it ſeems, by what followed, for an extraordinary ſervice: Pharaoh's daughter (whoſe compaſſion was the means of his preſervation when the king decreed the ſlaughter of the Hebrew males) took him for her ſon, and gave him the education of her father's court.[u] His own graceful preſence and extraordinary abilities, joined with her love to him and intereſt in her father to promote him, muſt have rendered him, if not capable of ſucceſſion, at leaſt of being chief miniſter of affairs under that wealthy and powerful prince. For Egypt was then what Athens and Rome were after, the moſt famous for learning, arts, and glory.

§. XVI. But Moſes, ordained for other work, and guided by a better ſtar, an higher principle, no ſooner came to years of diſcretion, than the impiety of Egypt and the oppreſſions of his brethren there, grew a burden too heavy for him to bear. And though ſo wiſe and good a man could not want thoſe generous and grateful reſentments that became the kindneſs of the king's daughter, to him; yet he had alſo 'ſeen that God that 'was inviſible,'[w] and did not dare to live in the eaſe and plenty of Pharaoh's houſe, whilſt his poor brethren were required 'to make brick without ſtraw.'[x]

Thus the fear of the Almighty taking deep hold of his heart, he nobly refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter, and choſe rather a life of affliction with the moſt deſpiſed and oppreſſed Iſraelites, and to be the companion of their temptations and jeopardies, 'than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon;' eſteeming the reproaches of Chriſt (which he ſuffered for making that unworldly choice) greater riches than all the treaſures of that kingdom.

§. XVII. Nor was he ſo fooliſh as they thought him; he had reaſon on his ſide: for it is ſaid, 'He had an 'eye to the recompenſe of reward;' he did not refuſe a leſſer benefit for a greater. In this his wiſdom tranſcended

[u] Exod. ii. 1—11. [w] Heb. xi. 24, 27. [x] Exod. v. 7, 16.

ſcended that of the Egyptians; for they made the preſent world their choice (as uncertain as the weather) and ſo loſt that which has no end. Moſes looked deeper and weighed the enjoyments of this life in the ſcales of eternity, and found they made no weight there. He governed himſelf, not by the immediate poſſeſſion, but the nature and duration of the reward. His faith corrected his affections, and taught him to ſacrifice the pleaſure of ſelf to the hope that he had of a future more excellent recompenſe.

§. XVIII. Iſaiah was no inconſiderable inſtance of this bleſſed ſelf-denial; who of a courtier became a prophet, and left the worldly intereſts of the one for the faith, patience, and ſufferings of the other. For his choice did not only loſe him the favour of men; but their wickedneſs, enraged at his integrity to God, in his fervent and bold reproofs of them, made a martyr of him in the end. For they barbarouſly ſawed him aſunder in the reign of king Manaſſes.[y] Thus died that excellent man, and commonly called the Evangelical prophet.

§. XIX. I ſhall add, of many, one example more, and that is from the fidelity of Daniel; an holy and wiſe young man, that when his external advantages came in competition with his duty to Almighty God, he relinquiſhed them all: and inſtead of being ſolicitous how to ſecure himſelf, as one minding nothing leſs, he was, with utmoſt hazard of himſelf, moſt careful how to preſerve the honour of God, by his fidelity to his will. And though at the firſt it expoſed him to ruin, yet, as an inſtance of great encouragement to all, that like him will chooſe to keep a good conſcience in an evil time, at laſt it advanced him greatly in the world; and the God of Daniel was made famous and terrible through his perſeverance, even in the eyes of heathen kings.

§. XX. What ſhall I ſay of all the reſt, who, counting nothing dear that they might do the will of God, abandoned their worldly comforts, and expoſed their eaſe

[y] Dorotheſus in his lives of the prophets.

and safety, as often as the heavenly vision called them to the wrath and malice of degenerate princes, and an apostate church?[z] More especially Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Micha, that after they had denied themselves in obedience to the divine voice, sealed up their testimony with their blood.

Thus was self-denial the practice and glory of the ancients, that were predecessors to the coming of Christ in the flesh; and shall we hope to go to heaven without it now, when our Saviour himself is become the most excellent example of it? And that not as some would fain have it, viz, 'for us, that we need 'not;'[a] but for us, that we might deny ourselves, and so be the true followers of his blessed example.

§. XXI. Whoever therefore thou art, that wouldest do the will of God, but faintest in thy desires from the opposition of worldly considerations; remember I tell thee, in the name of Christ, that he that prefers father or mother, sister or brother, wife or child, house or land, reputation, honour, office, liberty or life, before the testimony of the light of Jesus in his own conscience, shall be rejected of him, in the solemn and general inquest upon the world, when all shall be judged, and receive according to the deeds done, not the profession made, in this life. It was the doctrine of Jesus, 'that 'if thy right hand offend thee, thou must cut it off; 'and if thy right eye offend thee, thou must pluck it 'out:'[b] that is, if the most dear, the most useful and tender comforts thou enjoyest, stand in thy soul's way, and interrupt thy obedience to the voice of God, and thy conformity to his holy will revealed in thy soul, thou art engaged under the penalty of damnation to part with them.

§. XXII. The way of God is a way of faith, as dark to sense, as mortal to self. It is the children of obedience, who count with holy Paul, all things dross and dung, that they may win Christ, and know and walk in this narrow way. Speculation will not do, nor can refined

[z] Dorotheus, ib. [a] 1 Pet. ii. 20, 21, 22. [b] Mat. v. 29, 30.

fined notions enter, 'the obedient only eat the good of 'this land:' 'They that do his will'[c] (says the blessed Jesus) shall know of my doctrine; them he will instruct. There is no room for instruction, where lawful self is lord, and not servant. For self cannot receive it: that which should, is oppressed by self; fearful, and dares not. O what will my father or mother say? How will my husband use me? Or, finally, what will the magistrate do with me? For though I have a most powerful persuasion, and clear conviction upon my soul, of this or that thing, yet considering how unmodish it is, what enemies it has, and how strange and singular I shall seem to them, I hope God will pity my weakness: if I sink, I am but flesh and blood; it may be hereafter he may better enable me; and there is time enough. Thus selfish, fearful man.

But deliberating is ever worst; for the soul loses in parly: the manifestation brings power with it. Never did God convince people, but upon submission, he empowered them. He requires nothing without ability to perform it: that were mocking not saving of men. It is enough for thee to do thy duty, that God shews thee thy duty; provided thou closest with that light and spirit, by which he gives thee that knowledge. They that want power, are such as do not receive Christ in his convictions upon the soul; and such will always want it: but such as do, they receive power (like those of old) to become the children of God, through the pure obedience of faith.

§. XXIII. Wherefore, let me beseech you, by the love and mercy of God, by the life and death of Christ, by the power of his spirit, and the hope of immortality, that you, whose hearts are established in your temporal comforts, and so lovers of self more than of these heavenly things, would 'let the time past suffice:' that you would not think it enough to be clear of such impieties, as too many are found in, whilst your inordinate love of lawful things has defiled your enjoyment of them,

[c] Isa. i. 19. John vii. 17.

them, and drawn your hearts from the fear, love, obedience, and self-denial of a true disciple of Jesus. Tack about then, and hearken to the still voice in thy conscience; it tells thee thy sins, and of misery in them. It gives a lively discovery of the very vanity of the world, and opens to thy soul some prospect of eternity, and the comforts of the just that are at rest. If thou adherest to this, it will divorce thee from sin and self: thou wilt soon find, that the power of its charms exceed that of the wealth, honour, and beauty of the world, and finally will give thee that tranquillity, which the storms of time can never shipwreck nor disorder. Here all thine enjoyments are blest; though small, yet great by that presence that is within them.

Even in this world the righteous have the better of it, for they use the world without rebuke, because they do not abuse it. They see and bless the hand that feeds and clothes, and preserves them. And as by beholding him in all his gifts, they do not adore them, but him; so the sweetness of his blessings that gives them, is an advantage such have upon those that see him not. Besides, in their increase they are not lifted up, nor in their adversities are they cast down: and why? Because they are moderated in the one, and comforted in the other, by his divine presence.

In short, heaven is the throne, and the earth but the footstool, of that man that hath self under foot. And those that know that station will not easily be moved; such learn to number their days, that they may not be surprized with their dissolution; and to 'redeem their 'time, because their days are evil;'[d] remembering that they are but stewards, and must deliver up their accounts to an impartial judge. Therefore, not to self, but to him they live, and in him die, and are blessed with them that die in the Lord. And thus I conclude my discourse of the right use of lawful self.

CHAP.

[d] Eph. v. 15, 16.

CHAP. V.

§. 1. Of unlawful ſelf, it is twofold, 1. In religion. 2. In morality. §. 2. Of thoſe that are moſt formal, ſuperſtitious and pompous in worſhip. §. 3. God's rebuke of carnal apprehenſions. §. 4. Chriſt drew off his diſciples from the Jewiſh exterior worſhip, and inſtituted a more ſpiritual one. §. 5. Stephen is plain and full in this matter. §. 6. Paul refers the temple of God twice to man. §. 7. Of the croſs of theſe worldly worſhippers. §. 8. Fleſh and blood make their croſs, therefore cannot be crucified by it. §. 9. They are yokes without reſtraint. §. 10. Of the gaudineſs of their croſs, and their reſpect to it. §. 11. A recluſe life no true goſpel abnegation. §. 12. A compariſon between Chriſt's ſelf-denial and theirs: his leads to purity in the world, theirs to voluntary impriſonment, that they might not be tempted of the world. The miſchief which that example, followed, would do to the world. It deſtroys uſeful ſociety, honeſt labour. A lazy life the uſual refuge of idleneſs, poverty, and guilty age. §. 13. Of Chriſt's croſs in this caſe. The impoſſibility that ſuch an external application can remove an internal cauſe. §. 14. An exhortation to the men of this belief, not to deceive themſelves.

§. I. I AM now come to unlawful ſelf, which, more or leſs is the immediate concernment of much the greater part of mankind. This unlawful ſelf is twofold. 1ſt, That which relates to religious worſhip: 2dly, That which concerns moral and civil converſation in the world. And they are both of infinite conſequence to be conſidered by us. In which I ſhall be as brief as I may, with eaſe to my conſcience, and no injury to the matter.

§. II. That unlawful ſelf in religion, that ought to be mortified by the croſs of Chriſt, is man's invention and performance of worſhip to God, as divine, which is not ſo either in its inſtitution or performance. In this great

great error, thoſe people have the van, of all, that attribute to themſelves the name of Chriſtians, that are moſt exterior, pompous, and ſuperſtitious in their worſhip; for they do not only miſs exceedingly, by a ſpiritual unpreparedneſs, in the way of their performing worſhip to God Almighty, who is an eternal ſpirit; but the worſhip itſelf is compoſed of what is utterly inconſiſtent with the very form and practice of Chriſt's doctrine, and the apoſtolical example. For whereas that was plain and ſpiritual, this is gaudy and worldly: Chriſt's moſt inward and mental; theirs moſt outward and corporal; that ſuited to the nature of God, who is a ſpirit; this accommodated to the moſt carnal part. So that inſtead of excluding fleſh and blood, behold a worſhip calculated to gratify them: as if the buſineſs were not to preſent God with a worſhip to pleaſe him, but to make one to pleaſe themſelves. A worſhip dreſſed with ſuch ſtately buildings, and imagery, rich furniture and garments, rare voices and muſic, coſtly lamps, wax-candles and perfumes; and all acted with that moſt pleaſing variety to the external ſenſes, that art can invent, or coſt procure: as if the world were to turn Jew or Egyptian again: or that God was an old man, indeed, and Chriſt a little boy, to be treated with a kind of religious maſk, for ſo they picture him in their temples; and too many in their minds. And the truth is, ſuch a worſhip may very well ſuit ſuch an idea of God: for when men can think him ſuch an one as themſelves, it is not to be wondered, if they addreſs to him, and entertain him in a way that would be moſt pleaſing from others to themſelves.

§. III. But what ſaid the Almighty to ſuch a ſenſual people of old, much upon the like occaſion? 'Thou 'thoughteſt I was ſuch an one as thyſelf, but I will re- 'prove thee, and ſet thy ſins in order before thee. Now 'conſider this, ye that forget God, leſt I tear you in 'pieces, and there be none to deliver. But to him that 'ordereth his converſation aright, will I ſhew the ſal- 'vation of God.'[a] This is the worſhip acceptable to him,

[a] Pſal. l. 21, 22, 23.

him, 'To do juſtice, love mercy, and walk humbly 'with God;' for he that 'ſearcheth the heart, and 'tries the reins of man, and ſets his ſins in order before 'him, who is the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh,'[b] looks not to the external fabric, but internal frame of the ſoul, and inclination of the heart. Nor is it to be ſoberly thought, that he, who is 'clothed with divine 'honour and majeſty, who covers himſelf with light, 'as with a garment, who ſtretches out the heavens like 'a curtain, who layeth the beams of his chambers in 'the deep, who maketh the clouds his chariots, and 'who walks upon the wings of the wind, who maketh 'his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flaming fire, who 'laid the foundation of the earth that it ſhould not be 'moved for ever,' can be adequately worſhipped by thoſe human inventions, the refuge of an apoſtate people, from the primitive power of religion, and ſpirituality of chriſtian worſhip.

§. IV. Chriſt drew off his diſciples from the glory and worſhip of the outward temple, and inſtituted a more inward and ſpiritual worſhip, in which he inſtructed his followers, 'Ye ſhall neither in this moun-'tain, nor yet at Jeruſalem (ſays Chriſt to the Samaritan 'woman) worſhip the Father. God is a ſpirit, and 'they that worſhip him, muſt worſhip him in ſpirit and 'in truth.'[c] As if he had ſaid: for the ſake of the weakneſs of the people, God deſcended in old time, to limit himſelf to an outward time, place, temple and ſervice, in and by which he would be worſhipped: but this was during men's ignorance of his omnipreſence, and that they conſidered not what God is, nor where he is. But I am come to reveal him to as many as receive me. And I tell you that God is a ſpirit, and he will be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth. People muſt be acquainted with him as a ſpirit, conſider him, and worſhip him as ſuch. It is not that bodily worſhip, nor theſe ceremonious ſervices, in uſe among you now, that will ſerve, or give acceptance with this God that is a ſpirit:

[b] Mic. vi. 8. [c] John iv. 21, 24.

a ſpirit: no, you muſt obey his ſpirit that ſtrives with you, to gather you out of the evil of the world; that by bowing to the inſtructions and commands of his ſpirit in your own ſouls, you may know what it is to worſhip him as a ſpirit; then you will underſtand, that it is not going to this mountain, nor Jeruſalem, but to do the will of God, to keep his commandments; and commune with thine own heart, and ſin not, take up thy croſs, meditate in his holy law, and follow the example of him whom the Father hath ſent.

§. V. Wherefore Stephen, that bold and conſtant martyr of Jeſus, thus told the Jews, when a priſoner at their bar for diſputing about the end of their beloved temple, and its ſervices (but falſely accuſed of blaſphemy) 'Solomon (ſaid Stephen) built God an houſe; 'howbeit, God dwelleth not in temples made with 'hands; as ſaith the prophet,[d] Heaven is my throne, 'and earth is my footſtool; what houſe will ye build 'me, ſaith the Lord? Or what is the place of my reſt? 'Hath not mine hands made all theſe things?'[e] Behold a total overthrow to all worldly temples, and their ceremonious appendences! the martyr follows his blow upon thoſe apoſtate Jews, who were of thoſe times, the pompous, ceremonious, worldly worſhippers: 'Ye 'ſtiff-necked and uncircumciſed in heart and ears, ye 'do always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt; as did your fathers, 'ſo do ye.' As if he had told them, no matter for your outward temple, rites, and ſhadowy ſervices, your pretenſions to ſucceſſion in nature from Abraham, and by religion from Moſes; you are reſiſters of the ſpirit, gainſayers of its inſtructions: you will not bow to its counſel, nor are your hearts right towards God; you are the ſucceſſors of your father's iniquity; and though verbal admirers, yet none of the ſucceſſors of the prophets in faith and life.

But the prophet Iſaiah carries it a little farther than is cited by Stephen. For after having declared what is not God's houſe, 'the place where his honour dwells, immedi-

[d] Acts vii. 47—51. [e] Iſa. lxvi. 1, 2.

immediately follow these words: 'But to this man will 'I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite 'spirit, and trembleth at my word.'[f] Behold, O carnal and superstitious man, the true worshipper, and the place of God's rest! This is the house and temple of Him whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain; an house self cannot build, nor the art nor power of man prepare or consecrate.

§. VI. Paul, that great apostle of the Gentiles, twice expressly refers the word temple to man: once in his first epistle to the church at Corinth; 'Know ye not '(says he) that you are the temples of the Holy Ghost, 'which is in you, which ye have of God?'[g] &c. and not the building of man's hand and art. Again, he tells the same people (in his second epistle) 'For ye are 'the temple of the living God, as God hath said;'[h] (and then cites God's words by the prophet) 'I will 'dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their 'God, and they shall be my people.' This is the evangelical temple, the Christian church, whose ornaments are not the embroideries and furnitures of worldly art and wealth, but the graces of the spirit; 'meekness, love, faith, patience, self-denial, and 'charity.'[i] Here it is, that the eternal wisdom, that was with God from everlasting, before the hills were brought forth, or the mountains laid, chooses to dwell, 'rejoicing (says Wisdom) in the habitable part of the 'earth, and my delights were with the sons of men;' not in the houses built of wood and stone. This living house is more glorious than Solomon's dead house; and of which his was but a figure, as he, the builder, was of Christ, who 'builds us up an holy temple to God.'[k] It was promised of old, that 'the glory of the latter 'should transcend the glory of the former;' which may be applied to this: not one outward temple or house to excel another in outward lustre; for where is the benefit of that? but the divine glory, the beauty of holiness

[f] Isa lxvi. 2. [g] 1 Cor. vi. 9. [h] 2 Cor. vi. 16. [i] Prov. viii. 22. 23, 25, 31. [k] Hag. ii. 9.

in the gospel house or church, made up of renewed believers, should exceed the outward glory of Solomon's temple, which in comparison of the latter days, was but flesh to spirit, fading resemblances to the eternal substance.

But for all this, Christians have meeting-places, yet not in Jewish or Heathen state, but plain; void of pomp and ceremony; suiting the simplicity of their blessed Lord's life and doctrine. For God's presence is not with the house, but with them that are in it, who are the gospel-church, and not the house. O! that such as call themselves Christians, knew but a real sanctity in themselves, by the washing of God's regenerating grace; instead of that imaginary sanctity ascribed to places, they would then know what the church is, and where, in these evangelical days, is the place of God's appearance. This made the prophet David say, 'The King's 'daughter is all glorious within, her clothing is of 'wrought gold.' What is the glory that is within the true church, and that gold that makes up that inward glory? Tell me, O superstitious man! is it thy stately temples, altars, carpets, tables, tapestries; thy vestments, organs, voices, candles, lamps, censers, plate and jewels, with the like furniture of thy worldly temples? No such matter; they bear no proportion with the divine adornment of the King of heaven's daughter, the blessed and redeemed church of Christ. Miserable apostacy that it is! and a wretched supplement in the loss and absence of the apostolic life, the spiritual glory of the primitive church.

§. VII. But yet some of these admirers of external pomp and glory in worship, would be thought lovers of the Cross, and to that end have made to themselves many. But alas! what hopes can there be of reconciling that to christianity, that the nearer it comes to its resemblance, the farther off it is in reality? For their very cross and self-denial, are most unlawful self: and whilst they fancy to worship God thereby, they most dangerously err from the true cross of Christ, and that holy abnegation that was of his blessed appointment.

It

It is true, they have got a croſs, but it ſeems to be in the room of the true one; and ſo mannerly, that it will do as they will have it that wear it; for inſtead of mortifying their wills by it, they made it, and uſe it according to them: ſo that the croſs is become their enſign that do nothing but what they liſt. Yet by that they would be thought his diſciples, that never did his own will, but the will of his heavenly Father.

§. VIII. This is ſuch a croſs as fleſh and blood can carry, for fleſh and blood invented it: therefore not the croſs of Chriſt, that is to crucify fleſh and blood. Thouſands of them have no more virtue than a chip; poor empty ſhadows, not ſo much as images of the true one. Some carry them for charms about them, but never repel one evil with them. They ſin with them upon their backs, and though they put them in their boſoms, their beloved luſts lie there too without the leaſt diſquiet. They are as dumb as Elijah's mock-gods; no life nor power in them:[1] and how ſhould they, whoſe matter is earthly, and whoſe figure and workmanſhip are but the invention and labour of worldly artiſts? Is it poſſible that ſuch croſſes ſhould mend their makers? Surely not.

§. IX. Theſe are yokes without reſtraint, and croſſes that never contradict: a whole cart-load of them would leave a man as unmortified as they find him. Men may ſooner knock their brains out with them, than their ſins: and that, I fear, too many of them know in their very conſciences that uſe them, indeed, adore them, and (which can only happen to the falſe croſs) are proud of them too, ſince the true one leaves no pride where it is truly borne.

§. X. For as their religion, ſo their croſs is very gaudy and triumphant: but in what? In precious metals and gems, the ſpoil of ſuperſtition upon the people's pockets. Theſe croſſes are made of earthly treaſure, inſtead of learning their hearts that wear them to deny it; and like men they are reſpected by their finery-

[1] 1 Kings xviii 27.

finery. A rich croſs ſhall have many gazers and admirers; the mean, in this, as other things, are more neglected. I could appeal to themſelves of this great vanity and ſuperſtition. O! how very ſhort is this of the bleſſed croſs of Jeſus, that takes away the ſins of the world!

§. XI. Nor is a recluſe life (the boaſted righteouſneſs of ſome) much more commendable, or one whit nearer to the nature of the true croſs: for if it be not unlawful as other things are, it is unnatural, which true religion teaches not. The chriſtian convent and monaſtery are within, where the ſoul is encloiſtered from ſin. And this religious houſe the true followers of Chriſt carry about with them, who exempt not themſelves from the converſation with the world, though they keep themſelves from the evil of the world in their converſation. That is a lazy, ruſty, unprofitable ſelf-denial, burdenſome to others, to feed their idleneſs; religious bedlams, where people are kept up, leſt they ſhould do miſchief abroad; patience per force; ſelf-denial againſt their will, rather ignorant than virtuous; and out of the way of temptation than conſtant in it. No thanks if they commit not what they are not tempted to commit. What the eye, views not, the heart craves not, as well as rues not.

§. XII. The croſs of Chriſt is of another nature: it truly overcomes the world, and leads a life of purity in the face of its allurements: they that bear it, are not thus chained up, for fear they ſhould bite: nor locked up leſt they ſhould be ſtolen away: no, they receive power from Chriſt their captain, to reſiſt the evil, and do that which is good in the ſight of God; to deſpiſe the world, and love its reproach above its praiſe: and not only not to offend others, but love thoſe that offend them, though not for offending them. What a world ſhould we have, if every body, for fear of tranſgreſſing, ſhould mew himſelf up within four walls! No ſuch matter; the perfection of Chriſtian life extends to every honeſt labour or traffick uſed among men. This ſeverity is not the effect of Chriſt's free

free ſpirit, but a voluntary, fleſhly humility; mere trammels of their own making and putting on, without preſcription or reaſon. In all which, it is plain, they are their own law-givers, and ſet their own rule, mulct and ranſom: a conſtrained harſhneſs, out of joint to the reſt of the creation; for ſociety is one great end of it, and not to be deſtroyed for fear of evil: but ſin baniſhed that ſpoils it, by ſteady reproof, and a conſpicuous example of tried virtue. True godlineſs does not turn men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it, and excites their endeavours to mend it: 'not hide their candle under a buſhel, but ſet it 'upon a table, in a candleſtick.' Beſides, it is a ſelfiſh invention: and that can never be the way of taking up the croſs, which the true croſs is therefore taken up to ſubject. But again, this humour runs away by itſelf, and leaves the world behind to be loſt; Chriſtians ſhould keep the helm, and guide the veſſel to its port; not meanly ſteal out at the ſtern of the world, and leave thoſe that are in it, without a pilot, to be driven by the fury of evil times, upon the rock or ſand of ruin. In fine, this ſort of life, if taken up by young people, is commonly to cover idleneſs, or to pay portions; to ſave the lazy from the pain of puniſhment, or quality from the diſgrace of poverty: one will not work, and the other ſcorns it. If aged, a long life of guilt ſometimes flies to ſuperſtition for refuge; and after having had its own will in other things, would finiſh it in a wilful religion to make God amends.

§. XIII. But taking up the croſs of Jeſus is a more interior exerciſe: it is the circumſpection and diſcipline of the ſoul, in conformity to the divine mind therein revealed. Does not the body follow the ſoul, and not the ſoul the body? Do not ſuch conſider, that no outward cell can ſhut up the ſoul from luſt, the mind from an infinity of unrighteous imaginations? The thoughts of man's heart are evil, and that continually. Evil comes from within, and not from without: how then can an external application remove an internal cauſe; or a reſtraint upon the body, work a confinement of the

the mind? Leſs much than without doors: for where there is leaſt of action, there is moſt time to think; and if thoſe thoughts are not guided by an higher principle, convents are more miſchievous to the world than exchanges. And yet a retirement is both an excellent and needful thing: crowds and throngs were not much frequented by the ancient holy pilgrims.

§. XIV. But then examine, O man, thy bottom, what it is, and who placed thee there; leſt in the end it ſhould appear, thou haſt put an eternal cheat upon thy own ſoul. I muſt confeſs I am jealous of the ſalvation of my own kind, having found mercy with my heavenly Father: I would have none deceive themſelves to perdition, eſpecially about religion, where people are moſt apt to take all for granted, and loſe infinitely by their own flatteries and neglect. The inward ſteady righteouſneſs of Jeſus is another thing, than all the contrived devotion of poor ſuperſtitious man: and to ſtand approved in the eye of God, excels that bodily exerciſe in religion, reſulting from the invention of men. And the ſoul that is awakened and preſerved by his holy power and ſpirit, lives to him in the way of his own inſtitution, and worſhips him in his own ſpirit, that is, in the holy ſenſe, life, and leadings of it; which indeed is the evangelical worſhip. Not that I would be thought to ſlight a true retirement: for I do not only acknowledge, but admire ſolitude. Chriſt himſelf was an example of it: he loved, and choſe to frequent mountains, gardens, ſea-ſides. They are requiſite to the growth of piety; and I reverence the virtue that ſeeks and uſes it: wiſhing there were more of it in the world: but then it ſhould be free, not conſtrained. What benefit to the mind, to have it for a puniſhment, and not a pleaſure? Nay, I have long thought it an error among all ſorts, that uſe not monaſtick lives, that they have no retreats for the afflicted, the tempted, the ſolitary, and the devout; where they might undiſturbedly wait upon God, paſs through their religious exerciſes; and being thereby ſtrengthened, may, with more power over their own ſpirits, enter into the buſineſs of the world again; though

though the leſs the better to be ſure. For divine pleaſures are found in a free ſolitude.

CHAP. VI.

§. 1. But men of more refined belief and practice are yet concerned in this unlawful ſelf about religion. §. 2. It is the riſe of the performance of worſhip God regards. §. 3. True worſhip is only from an heart prepared by God's ſpirit. §. 4. The ſoul of man dead, without the divine breath of life, and ſo not capable of worſhipping the living God. §. 5. We are not to ſtudy what to pray for. How chriſtians ſhould pray. The aid they have from God. §. 6. The way of obtaining this preparation: it is by waiting, as David and others did of old, in holy ſilence, that their wants and ſupplies are beſt ſeen. §. 7. The whole and the full think they need not this waiting, and ſo uſe it not: but the poor in ſpirit are of another mind; wherefore the Lord hears and fills them with his good things. §. 8. If there were not this preparation, the Jewiſh times would have been more holy and ſpiritual than the goſpel; for even then it was required, and much more now. §. 9. As ſin, ſo formality cannot worſhip God; thus David, Iſaiah, &c. §. 10. God's own forms and inſtitutions hateful to him, unleſs his own ſpirit uſe them; much more thoſe of man's contriving. §. 11. God's children ever met God in his way, not their own; and in his way they always found help and comfort. In Jeremiah's time it was the ſame; his goodneſs was manifeſt to his children that waited truly upon him: it was an inward ſenſe and enjoyment of him they thirſted after. Chriſt charged his diſciples alſo to wait for the ſpirit. §. 12. This doctrine of waiting farther opened, and ended with an alluſion to the pool of Bethesda; a lively figure of inward waiting, and its bleſſed effects. §. 13. Four things neceſſary to worſhip;

ſhip; the ſanctification of the worſhipper, and the conſecration of the offering, and the thing to be prayed for: and laſtly, faith to pray in: and all muſt be right, that is, of God's giving. §. 14. The great power of faith in prayer; witneſs the importunate widow. The wicked and formal aſk, and receive not; the reaſon why. But Jacob and his true offspring, the followers of his faith, prevail. §. 15. This ſhews why Chriſt upbraided his diſciples with their little faith. The neceſſity of faith. Chriſt works no good on men without it. §. 16. This faith is not only poſſible now, but neceſſary. §. 17. What it is, farther unfolded. §. 18. Who the heirs of this faith are; and what were the noble works of it in the former ages of the juſt.

§. I. BUT there be others of a more refined ſpeculation, and reformed practice, who dare not uſe, and leſs adore, a piece of wood or ſtone, an image of ſilver or gold; nor yet allow of that Jewiſh, or rather Pagan pomp in worſhip, practiſed by others, as if Chriſt's worſhip were of this world, though his kingdom be of the other; but are doctrinely averſe to ſuch ſuperſtition, and yet refrain not to bow to their own religious duties, and eſteem their formal performance of ſeveral parts of worſhip, that go againſt the grain of their fleſhly eaſe, and a preciſeneſs therein, no ſmall croſs unto them; and that if they abſtain from groſs and ſcandalous ſins, or if the act be not committed, though the thoughts of it are embraced, and that it has a full career in the mind, they hold themſelves ſafe enough, within the pale of diſcipleſhip and wall of chriſtianity. But this alſo is too mean a character of the diſcipline of Chriſt's croſs: and thoſe that flatter themſelves with ſuch a ſort of taking it up, will in the end be deceived with a ſandy foundation, and a midnight cry. For ſaid Chriſt, 'But I ſay unto you, that every idle word that men 'ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give an account thereof in the 'day of judgment.'[m]

§. II. For

[m] Mat. xii. 30.

§. II. For first, it is not performing duties of religion but the rise of the performance, that God looks at. Men may, and some do, cross their own wills, in their own wills; voluntary omission, or commission: 'who 'has required this at your hands?'[n] said the Lord of old to the Jews, when they seemed industrious to have served him; but it was in a way of their own contriving or inventing, and in their own time and will; not with the soul truly touched and prepared by the divine power of God; but bodily worship only, that the apostle tells us, profiteth little. Not keeping to the manner of taking up the cross in worship, as well as other things, has been a great cause of the troublesome superstition that is yet in the world. For men have no more brought their worship to the test, than their sins: nay less; for they have ignorantly thought the one a sort of excuse for the other; and not that their religious performances should need a cross, or an apology.

§. III. But true worship can only come from an heart prepared by the Lord. [o] This preparation is by the sanctification of the Spirit; by which, if God's children are led in the general course of their lives (as Paul teaches) much more in their worship to their Creator and Redeemer.[p] And whatever prayer be made, or doctrine be uttered, and not from the preparation of the Holy Spirit, it is not acceptable with God: nor can it be the true evangelical worship, which is in spirit and truth; that is, by the preparation and aid of the Spirit. For what is an heap of the most pathetical words to God Almighty; or the dedication of any place or time to him? He is a spirit, to whom words, places and times (strictly considered) are improper or inadequate. And though they be the instruments of public worship, they are but bodily and visible, and cannot carry our requests any farther, much less recommend them to the invisible God; by no means: they are for the sake of the congregation: it is the lan-

[n] Isa. i. 12. [o] Prov. xvi. 1. [p] Rom. viii. 14.

guage of the ſoul God hears; nor can that ſpeak, but by the Spirit; or groan aright to Almighty God, without the aſſiſtance of it.

§. IV. The ſoul of man, however lively in other things, is dead to God, till he breathe the ſpirit of life into it: it cannot live to him, much leſs worſhip him without it. Thus God by Ezekiel tells us, when in a viſion of the reſtoration of mankind, in the perſon of Iſrael (an uſual way of ſpeaking among the prophets, and as often miſtaken); I will open your graves (ſaith 'the Lord) and put my ſpirit in you, and ye ſhall live.'[q] So, though Chriſt taught his diſciples to pray, they were, in ſome ſort, diſciples before he taught them; not worldly men, whoſe prayers are an abomination to God. And his teaching them is not an argument that every one muſt ſay that prayer, whether he can ſay it with the ſame heart, and under the ſame qualifications, as his poor diſciples and followers did or not, as is now too ſuperſtitiouſly and preſumptuouſly practiſed. But rather, that as they then, ſo we now, are not to pray our own prayers, but his; that is, ſuch as he enables us to make, as he enabled them then.

§. V. For if we are not to take thought what we ſhall ſay when we come before worldly princes, becauſe it ſhall then be given us; and that it is not we that ſpeak, but the ſpirit of our heavenly Father that ſpeaketh in us;[r] much leſs can our ability be needed, or ought we to ſtudy to ourſelves forms of ſpeech in our approaches to the great Prince of princes, King of kings, and Lord of lords.[s] For be it his greatneſs, we ought not by Chriſt's command: be it our relation to him, as children, we need not: he will help us, he is our father; that is, if he be ſo indeed. Thus not only the mouth of the body, but of the ſoul is ſhut, till God opens it; and then he loves to hear the language of it. In which the body ought never to go before the ſoul; his ear is open to ſuch requeſts, and his ſpirit ſtrongly intercedes for thoſe that offer them.

§. VI. But

[q] Ezek. x. xxvii. 12, 13, 14. [r] Mat. x. 19, 20. [s] Mat. vi.

§. VI. But it may be aſked, how ſhall this preparation be obtained ?

I anſwer: by waiting patiently, yet watchfully and intently upon God: 'Lord (ſays the Pſalmiſt) thou 'haſt heard the deſire of the humble; thou wilt pre-'pare their heart, thou wilt cauſe thine ear to hear:'[t] and (ſays Wiſdom) the preparation of the heart in man 'is from the Lord.'[u] Here it is thou muſt not think thy own thoughts, nor ſpeak thy own words (which indeed is the ſilence of the holy croſs) but be ſequeſtered from all the confuſed imaginations, that are apt to throng and preſs upon the mind, in thoſe holy retirements. It is not for thee to think to overcome the Almighty by the moſt compoſed matter, caſt into the apteſt phraſe: no, no; one groan, one ſigh, from a wounded ſoul, an heart touched with true remorſe, a ſincere and godly ſorrow, which is the work of God's ſpirit, excels and prevails with God. Wherefore ſtand ſtill in thy mind, wait to feel ſomething that is divine, to prepare and diſpoſe thee to worſhip God truly and acceptably. And thus taking up the croſs, and ſhutting the doors and windows of the ſoul againſt every thing that would interrupt this attendance upon God, how pleaſant ſoever the object be in itſelf, how lawful or needful at another ſeaſon, the power of the Almighty will break in, his ſpirit will work and prepare the heart, that it may offer up an acceptable ſacrifice. It is he that diſcovers and preſſes wants upon the ſoul; and when it cries, it is he alone that ſupplies them. Petitions, not ſpringing from ſuch a ſenſe and preparation, are formal and fictitious; they are not true; for men pray in their own blind deſires, and not in the will of God; and his ear is ſtopped to them: but for the very ſighing of the poor, and crying of the needy, God hath ſaid, he will ariſe; that is, the poor in ſpirit, the needy ſoul, thoſe that want his aſſiſtance, who are ready to be overwhelmed, that feel a need, and cry aloud for a deliverer, and that have none on

[t] Pſal. x. 17. [u] Prov. xvi. 1.

on earth to help,[w] 'none in heaven but him, nor in 'earth in compariſon of him: he will deliver (ſaid 'David) the needy, when he cries, and the poor, and 'him that has no helper. He ſhall redeem their ſoul 'from deceit and violence, and precious ſhall their 'blood be in his ſight. This poor man (ſays he) cried, 'and the Lord heard him, and ſaved him out of all his 'troubles. The angel of the Lord encampeth round 'about them that fear him, and delivers them;'[x] and then invites all to come and taſte how good the Lord is. Yea, 'he will bleſs them that fear the Lord, both ſmall 'and great.'[y]

§. VII. But what is that to them that are not hungry? The whole need not the phyſician:[z] the full have no need to ſigh, nor the rich to cry for help. Thoſe that are not ſenſible of their inward wants, that have not fears and terrors upon them, who feel no need of God's power to help them, nor of the light of his countenance to comfort them; what have ſuch to do with prayer? Their devotion is but, at beſt, a ſerious mockery of the Almighty. They know not, they want not, they deſire not what they pray for. They pray the will of God may be done, and do conſtantly their own: for though it be ſoon ſaid, it is a moſt terrible thing to them. They aſk for grace, and abuſe that they have: they pray for the ſpirit, but reſiſt it in themſelves, and ſcorn at it in others. they requeſt the mercies and goodneſs of God, and feel no real want of them. And in this inward inſenſibility, they are as unable to praiſe God for what they have, as to pray for what they have not. 'They ſhall praiſe the Lord (ſays David) that 'ſeek him: for he ſatisfieth the longing ſoul, and fill-'eth the hungry with good things.'[a] This alſo he reſerves for the poor and needy, and thoſe that fear God. 'Let the (ſpiritually) poor and the needy 'praiſe thy name: ye that fear the Lord, praiſe him; 'and ye the ſeed of Jacob, glorify him.'[b] Jacob was a plain

[w] Pſal. xii. 5. [x] Pſal. lxxii. 12, 14. Pſal. xxxiv. 6, 7, 8.
[y] Pſal. cxv. 13. [z] Mat. ix. 12. [a] Pſal. xxii. 26. Pſal. cvii. 9.
[b] Pſal. lxxiv. 21. Pſal. xxii. 23.

a plain man, of an upright heart; and they that are so are his seed. And though (with him) they may be as poor as worms in their own eyes, yet they receive power to wrestle with God, and prevail as he did.

§. VIII. But without the preparation and consecration of this power, no man is fit to come before God: else it were matter of less holiness and reverence to worship God under the gospel, than it was in the times of the law, when all sacrifices were sprinkled before offered; the people consecrated that offered them, before they presented themselves before the Lord.[c] If the touching of a dead or unclean beast then made people unfit for temple or sacrifice, yea, society with the clean, till first sprinkled and sanctified, how can we think so meanly of the worship that is instituted by Christ in gospel-times, as that it shall admit of unprepared and unsanctified offerings? or, allow that those who either in thoughts, words, or deeds, do daily touch that which is morally unclean, can (without coming to the blood of Jesus, that sprinkles the conscience from dead works) acceptably worship the pure God; it is a downright contradiction to good sense: the unclean cannot acceptably worship that which is holy; the impure that which is perfect. There is an holy intercourse and communion betwixt Christ and his followers; but none at all betwixt Christ and Belial; between him and those that disobey his commandments, and live not the life of his blessed cross and self-denial.[d]

§. IX. But as sin, so formality cannot worship God; no, though the manner were of his own ordination. Which made the prophet, personating one in a great strait, cry out, 'Wherewith shall I come before the 'Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I 'come before him with burnt-offerings? With calves 'of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thou-'sands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? 'Shall

[c] Num. viii. and chap. xix. 2 Chron. xxix. 36. and chap. xxx. 16, 17. [d] 2 Cor. vi. 15, 16.

'Shall I give my firſt-born for my tranſgreſſions, the 'fruit of my body for the ſin of my ſoul? He hath 'ſhewed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth 'the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, to love 'mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?'[e] The royal prophet, ſenſible of this, calls thus alſo upon God; 'O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth ſhall 'ſhew forth thy praiſe.'[f] He did not dare open his own lips, he knew that could not praiſe God: and why? 'For thou deſireſt not ſacrifice, elſe would I give it:' (if my formal offerings would ſerve, thou ſhouldſt not want them) 'thou delighteſt not in burnt-offerings. 'The ſacrifices of God, are a broken ſpirit, a broken 'and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe:' and why? Becauſe this is God's work, the effect of his power; and his own works praiſe him. To the ſame purpoſe doth God himſelf ſpeak, by the mouth of Iſaiah, in oppoſition to the formalities and lip-worſhip of the degenerate Jews: 'Thus ſaith the lord, the 'heaven is my throne, and the earth is my foot-ſtool, 'where is the houſe that ye build to me? And where 'is the place of my reſt? For all theſe things hath my 'hand made. But to this man will I look, even him 'that is poor, and of a contrite ſpirit, and trembleth at 'my word.'[g] O behold the true worſhipper! one of God's preparing, circumciſed in heart and ear, that reſiſts not the Holy Spirit, as thoſe loſty profeſſing Jews did. Was this ſo then, even in the time of the law, which was the diſpenſation of external and ſhadowy performances, and can we now expect acceptance without the preparation of the Spirit of the Lord in theſe goſpel-times, which are the proper times for the effuſion of the Spirit? By no means: God is what he was; and none elſe are his true worſhippers, but ſuch as worſhip him in his own ſpirit; theſe he tenders as the apple of his eye: the reſt do but mock him, and he deſpiſes them. Hear what follows to that people, for it is

[e] Mic. vi. 6, 7, 8. [f] Pſal. li. 15, 16, 17. [g] Pſal. lxvi. 1, 2, 3.

it is the ſtate and portion of Chriſtendom at this day: 'He that killeth an ox, is as if he ſlew a man: he that 'ſacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he 'that offereth an oblation, as if he offered ſwine's blood; 'he that burneth incenſe, as if he bleſſed an idol. 'Yea, they have choſen their own ways, and their ſoul 'delighteth in their abominations.' Let none ſay we offer not theſe kinds of oblations, for that is not the matter; God was not offended with the offerings, but offerers. Theſe were the legal forms of ſacrifice by God appointed; but they not preſenting them in that frame of ſpirit, and under that right diſpoſition of ſoul that was required, God declares his abhorrence, and that with great aggravation; and elſewhere, by the ſame prophet, forbids them to 'bring any more vain 'oblations before him: incenſe (ſays God) is an abomi-'nation to me: your ſabbaths and calling of aſſemblies 'I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the ſolemn 'meeting. And when you ſpread forth your hands, I 'will hide mine eyes from you; when you make many 'prayers, I will not hear you.'[h] A moſt terrible renunciation of their worſhip; and why? Becauſe their hearts were polluted; they loved not the Lord with their whole hearts, but broke his law, and rebelled againſt his ſpirit, and did not that which was right in his ſight. The cauſe is plain, by the amendments he requires: 'Waſh you (ſays the Lord) make you clean, 'put away the evil of your doings from before mine 'eyes: ceaſe to do evil, learn to do well; ſeek judg-'ment, relieve the oppreſſed, judge the fatherleſs, 'plead for the widow.' Upon theſe terms (and nothing ſhort) he bids them come to him, and tells them, that though their 'ſins be as ſcarlet, they ſhall be white 'as ſnow; and though they be as crimſon, they ſhall be 'white as wool.'

So true is that notable paſſage of the Pſalmiſt: 'Come 'and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare 'what he hath done for my ſoul: I cried to him with 'my

[h] Iſa. i. 13 to 18.

'my mouth, and he was extolled with my tongue. If 'I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear 'me. But verily God hath heard me, he hath attend-'ed to the voice of my prayer. Bleſſed be God which 'hath not turned away my prayer, nor his mercy from 'me.'[i]

§. X. Much of this kind might be cited, to ſhew the diſpleaſure of God againſt even his own forms of wor-ſhip, when performed without his own ſpirit, and that neceſſary preparation of the heart in man, that nothing elſe can work or give: which above all other penmen of ſacred writ, is moſt frequently and emphatically re-commended to us by the example of the Pſalmiſt, who ever and anon calling to mind his own great ſlips, and the cauſe of them, and the way by which he came to be accepted of God, and obtain ſtrength and comfort from him, reminds himſelf to wait upon God. 'Lead me 'in thy truth, and teach me, for thou art the God of 'my ſalvation, on thee do I wait all the day long.'[k] His ſoul looked to God for ſalvation, to be delivered from the ſnares and evils of the world. This ſhews an inward exerciſe, a ſpiritual attendance, that ſtood not in external forms but an inward divine aid.

And truly, David had great encouragement ſo to do, the goodneſs of God invited him to it, and ſtrengthened him in it. 'For (ſays he) I waited patiently upon the 'Lord, and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. 'He brought me out of the miry clay, and ſet my feet 'upon a rock.' That is, the Lord appeared inwardly to conſolate David's ſoul, that waited for his help, and to deliver it from the temptations and afflictions that were ready to overwhelm it, and gave him ſecurity and peace. Therefore he ſays, 'The Lord hath eſtabliſhed my 'going;' that is, fixed his mind in righteouſneſs. Before every ſtep he took bemired him, and he was ſcarce able to go without falling: temptations on all hands; but he waited patiently upon God; his mind retired watchful and intent to his law and ſpirit; and he felt the Lord to in-cline

[i] Pſal. lxvi. 16. 20. [k] Pſal. xxv. 5. Pſal. xl. 1, 2, 3,

cline to him. His needy and ſenſible cry entered heaven, and prevailed; then came reſcue and deliverance to David (in God's time, not David's) ſtrength to go through his exerciſes, and ſurmount all his troubles. For which he tells us, 'a new ſong was put into his 'mouth even praiſe,' ſays he, 'to our God.' But it was of God's making and putting, and not his own.

Another time, we have him crying thus: 'As the 'hart panteth after the water-brooks, ſo panteth my 'ſoul after thee, O God. My ſoul thirſteth for God, 'for the living God: when ſhall I come and appear 'before him? This goes beyond formality, and can be tied to no leſſon. But we may by this ſee, that true worſhip is an inward work; that the ſoul muſt be touched and raiſed in its heavenly deſires, by the heavenly ſpirit, and that the true worſhip is in God's preſence. 'When ſhall I come and appear?' Not in the temple, nor with outward ſacrifices, but before God, in his preſence. So that the ſouls of true worſhippers ſee God, make their appearance before him; and this they wait, they pant, they thirſt for. O how is the better part of Chriſtendom degenerated from David's example! No wonder, therefore, that this good man tells us, 'truly my ſoul waiteth upon God;' and that he gives it in charge to his ſoul ſo to do; 'O my ſoul, wait thou upon God; for my expectation 'is from him.' As if he ſaid, None elſe can prepare my heart, or ſupply my wants; ſo that my expectation is not from my own voluntary performances, or the bodily worſhip I can give him; they are of no value: they can neither help me, nor pleaſe him. But I wait upon him for ſtrength and power to preſent myſelf ſo before him as may be moſt pleaſing to him, for he that prepares the ſacrifice, will certainly accept it. Wherefore in two verſes he repeats it thrice, 'I wait 'for the Lord—My ſoul doth wait—My ſoul waiteth 'for the Lord, more than they that watch for the 'morning.'[m] Yea, ſo intenſely, and with that un-

I weariedneſs

[m] Pſal. cxxx. 5, 6.

weariedneſs of ſoul, that he ſays in one place, 'Mine 'eyes fail, while I wait for my God.'[n] He was not contented with ſo many prayers, ſuch a ſet of worſhip, or limited repetition; no: he leaves not till he finds the Lord, that is, the comforts of his preſence; which bring the anſwer of love and peace to his ſoul. Nor was this his practice only, as a man more than ordinarily inſpired; for he ſpeaks of it in the way of worſhip then amongſt the true people of God, the ſpiritual Iſrael, and circumciſion in heart, of that day. 'Behold (ſays he) as the eyes of ſervants look to the hand 'of their maſters, and as the eye of a maiden unto 'the hand of her miſtreſs, ſo our eyes wait upon the 'Lord our God, until he have mercy upon us.'[o] In another place, 'Our ſoul waiteth for the Lord, he is 'our help and our ſhield. I will wait upon thy name, 'for it is good before thy ſaints.'[p] It was in requeſt with the truly godly of that day, and the way they came to enjoy God, and worſhip him acceptably. And from his own experience of the benefit of waiting upon God, and the ſaints practice of thoſe times, he recommends it to others: 'Wait upon the Lord, be of good 'courage, and he ſhall ſtrengthen thy heart: wait, I 'ſay, upon the Lord.'[q] That is, wait in faith and patience, and he will come to ſave thee. Again, 'Reſt 'in the Lord, and wait patiently upon him:'[r] that is, caſt thyſelf upon him; be contented, and wait for him to help thee in thy wants: thou canſt not think how near he is to help thoſe that wait upon him: O try, and have faith! Yet again, he bids us, 'wait upon the 'Lord, and keep his way.'[s] Behold the reaſon ſo few profit! they are out of his way, and ſuch can never wait rightly upon him. Great reaſon had David for what he ſaid, that had with ſo much comfort and advantage met the Lord in his bleſſed way.

§. XI. The prophet Iſaiah tells us, that though the chaſtiſements of the Lord were ſore upon the people for their

[n] Pſal. lxix. 3. [o] Pſal. cxxiii. 2. [p] Pſal. xxxiii. 20. Pſal. lii. 9.
[q] Pſal. xxvii. 14. [r] Pſal. xxxvii. 7. [s] Pſal. xxxvii. 34.

their backſlidings,[t] yet in the way of his judgments (in the way of his rebukes and diſpleaſures) they waited for him, and the deſire of their ſoul (that is the great point) was to his name, and the remembrance of him. They were contented to be chid and chaſtiſed, for they had ſinned; and the knowledge of him ſo, was very deſirable to them. But what! did he not come at laſt, and that in mercy too? Yes, he did, and they knew him when he came (a doctrine the brutiſh world knows not) 'This is our God, we have waited for him, and he will 'ſave us.'[u] O bleſſed enjoyment! O precious confidence. Here was a waiting in faith, which prevailed. All worſhip, not in faith, is fruitleſs to the worſhipper, as well as diſpleaſing to God; and this faith is the gift of God, and the nature of it is to purify the heart, and give ſuch as truly believe 'victory over the world.' Well! but they go on: 'We have waited for him, we 'will be glad, and rejoice in his ſalvation.'[w] The prophet adds, 'Bleſſed are all they that wait upon God:'[x] and why? 'For they that wait upon the Lord, ſhall re-'new their ſtrength; they ſhall never faint; never be 'weary:'[y] The encouragement is great. O hear him once more! 'For ſince the beginning of the world, 'men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither 'hath the eye ſeen, O God! beſides thee, what he hath 'prepared for him that waiteth for him.' Behold the inward life and joy of the righteous, the true worſhippers! thoſe whoſe ſpirits bowed to the appearance of God's ſpirit in them, leaving and forſaking all it appeared againſt, and embracing whatever it led them to. In Jeremiah's time, the true worſhippers alſo waited upon God; and he aſſures us, 'That the Lord is good to 'them that wait for him, to the ſoul that ſeeketh him.' Hence it is that the prophet Hoſea exhorts the church then, to turn and wait upon God: 'Therefore turn thou 'to thy God; keep mercy and judgment, and wait on 'thy God continually.'[z]

And

[t] Iſa. xxvi. 8. [u] Iſa. xxv. 9. [w] Iſa. xxx. 18. [x] Iſa. xl. 31.
[y] Iſa. lxiv 4. [z] Jer. xiv. 22. Lament. iii. 25. Hoſ. xii. 6.

And Micah is very zealous and resolute in this good exercise: 'I will look unto the Lord, I will wait for the 'God of my salvation: my God will hear me.'[a] Thus did the children of the spirit, that thirsted after an inward sense of him. The wicked cannot say so: nor they that pray, unless they wait. It is charged upon Israel in the wilderness, as the cause of their disobedience and ingratitude to God, that they 'waited not for his coun-'sels.' We may be sure it is our duty, and expected from us; for God requires it in Zephaniah: 'There-'fore wait upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that 'I arise, &c.'[b] O that all who profess the name of God, would wait so, and not offer to arise to worship without him! and they would feel his stirrings and arisings in them, to help, and prepare, and sanctify them. Christ expressly charged his disciples, they should not stir from Jerusalem, but wait till they had received the promise of the Father, the baptism of the Holy Ghost, in order to their preparation for the preaching of the glorious gospel of Christ to the world.'[c] And though that were an extraordinary effusion for an extraordinary work, yet the degree does not change the kind. On the contrary, if so much waiting and preparation by the Spirit was requisite to fit them to preach to man; some, at least, may be needful to fit us to speak to God.

§. XII. I will close this great scripture doctrine of waiting, with that passage in John, about the pool of Bethesda. 'There is at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market, a 'pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue, Bethesda, 'having five porches, in these lay a great multitude of 'impotent folks, of blind, halt, and withered, waiting 'for the moving of the water. For an angel went 'down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled 'the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of 'the water, stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever 'disease he had.'[d] A most exact representation of what is intended by all that has been said upon the subject

[a] Mic. vii. 7. [b] Zeph. iii. 8. [c] Acts i. 4---8. [d] John v. 2, 3, 4.

ject of waiting. For as there was then an outward and legal, so there is now a gospel and spiritual Jerusalem, the church of God, consisting of the faithful. The pool in that old Jerusalem, in some sort, represented that fountain, which is now set open in the New Jerusalem. That pool was for those that were under infirmities of body; this fountain for all that are impotent in soul. There was an angel then that moved the water to render it beneficial; it is God's angel now, the great angel of his presence, that blesseth this fountain with success. They that then went in before, and did not watch the angel, and take advantage of his motion, found no benefit of their stepping in: those that now wait not the moving of God's angel, but by the devotion of their own forming and timing, rush before God, as the horse into the battle, and hope for success, are sure to miscarry in their expectations. Therefore, as then, they waited with all patience and intention upon the angel's motion, that wanted and desired to be cured; so do the true worshippers of God now, that need and pray for his presence, which is the life of their souls, as the sun is to the plants of the field. They have often tried the unprofitableness of their own work, and are now come to the sabbath indeed. They dare not put up a device of their own, or offer an unsanctified request, much less obtrude bodily worship, where the soul is really insensible or unprepared by the Lord. In the light of Jesus they ever wait to be prepared, retired, and recluse from all thoughts that cause the least distraction and discomposure in the mind, till they see the angel move, and till their beloved please to wake: nor dare they call him before his time. And they fear to make a devotion in his absence; for they know it is not only unprofitable, but reprovable: 'Who has required this at your hands?' 'He that believes makes not haste.'[c] They that worship with their own, can only do as the Israelites, turn their ear-rings into a molten image, and be cursed for their pains.

[c] Isa. i. 12. ch. xxviii. 15.

pains. Nor fared they better, 'that gathered ſticks of 'old, and kindled a fire, and compaſſed themſelves 'about with the ſparks that they had kindled;'[f] for God told them, 'they ſhould lie down in ſorrow.' It ſhould not only be of no advantage, and do them no good, but incur a judgment from him; ſorrow and anguiſh of ſoul ſhall be their portion. Alas! fleſh and blood would fain pray, though it cannot wait; and be a ſaint, though it cannot abide to do or ſuffer the will of God. With the tongue it bleſſes God, and with the tongue it curſes men, made in his ſimilitude. It calls Jeſus Lord, but not by the Holy Ghoſt; and often names the name of Jeſus, yea, bows the knee to it too, but departs not from iniquity: this is abominable to God.

§. XIII. In ſhort, there are four things ſo neceſſary to worſhipping of God aright, and which put its performance beyond man's power, that there ſeems little more needed than the naming of them. The firſt is, the ſanctification of the worſhipper. Secondly, the conſecration of the offering, which has been ſpoken to before ſomewhat largely. Thirdly, what to pray for; which no man knows, that prays not by the aid of God's ſpirit; and, therefore, without that ſpirit no man can truly pray. This the apoſtle puts beyond diſpute; 'We know not (ſays he) what we ſhould pray for, as 'we ought, but the Spirit helpeth our infirmities.'[g] Men unacquainted with the work and power of the Holy Spirit, are ignorant of the mind of God: and thoſe, certainly, can never pleaſe him with their prayers. It is not enough to know, we want; but we ſhould learn, whether it be not ſent us as a bleſſing: diſappointments to the proud, loſſes to the covetous, and to the negligent ſtripes: to remove theſe, were to ſecure the deſtruction, not help the ſalvation of the ſoul.

The vile world knows nothing, but carnally, after a fleſhly manner and interpretation; and too many that would be thought enlightened, are apt to call providences by wrong names. For inſtance, afflictions they

[f] Iſa. l. 11. [g] Rom. viii. 26.

they ſtyle judgments; and trials (more precious than the beloved gold) they call miſeries. On the other hand, they call the preferments of the world by the name of honour, and its wealth, happineſs: when for once that they are ſo, it is much to be feared they are ſent of God an hundred times for judgments, at leaſt trials, upon their poſſeſſors. Therefore, what to keep, what to reject, what to want, is a difficulty God only can reſolve the ſoul. And ſince God knows better than we, what we need, he can better tell us what to aſk, than we can him: which made Chriſt exhort his diſciples to avoid long and repetitious prayers; telling them, that their heavenly Father knew what they needed, before they aſked:[h] and therefore gave them a pattern to pray by: not as ſome fancy, to be a text to human liturgies, which of all ſervices are moſt juſtly noted and taxed for length and repetition; but expreſsly to reprove and avoid them. But if thoſe wants that are the ſubject of prayer, were once agreed upon (though that be a mighty point) yet how to pray is ſtill of greater moment, than to pray; it is not the requeſt, but the frame of the petitioner's ſpirit. The what may be proper, but the how defective. As I ſaid, God need not be told of our wants by us, who muſt tell them to us; yet he will be told them from us, that both we may ſeek him, and he may come down to us. But when this is done, 'To this man will I look, ſaith the Lord, even to 'him that is poor, and of a contrite ſpirit, and that 'trembleth at my word:'[i] To the ſick heart, the wounded ſoul, the hungry and thirſty, the weary and heavy laden ones; ſuch ſincerely want an helper.

§. XIV. Nor is this ſufficient to complete goſpel-worſhip; the fourth requiſite muſt be had, and that is faith, true faith, precious faith, the faith of God's choſen that purifies their hearts, that overcomes the world, and is the victory of the ſaints.[k] This is that which animates prayer, and preſſes it home, like the importunate

[h] Mat. vi. 7, 8. [i] Iſa. lxvi. 2. [k] 1 Tim. i. 5. Acts xv. 9. Tit. i. 1. 2 Pet. i. 1. 1 John v. 4.

tunate widow, that would not be denied; to whom Chriſt (ſeeming to admire) ſaid, 'O woman, great is thy 'faith.'[l] This is of higheſt moment on our part, to give our addreſſes ſucceſs with God; and yet not in our power neither, for it is the gift of God: from him we muſt have it; and with one grain of it more work is done, more deliverance is wrought, and more goodneſs and mercy received, than by all the runnings, willings, and toilings of man, with his inventions and bodily exerciſes. Which, duly weighed, will eaſily ſpell out the meaning, why ſo much worſhip ſhould bring ſo little profit to the world, as we ſee it does, viz. True faith is loſt. They aſk, and receive not; they ſeek, and find not; they knock, and it is not opened unto them:[m] the caſe is plain: their requeſts are not mixed with purifying faith, by which they ſhould prevail, as good Jacob's were, when he wreſtled with God, and prevailed. And the truth is, the generality are yet in their ſins, following their hearts luſts, and living in worldly pleaſures, being ſtrangers to this precious faith. It is the reaſon rendered by the deep author to the Hebrews, of the unprofitableneſs of the word preached to ſome of thoſe days; 'not being (ſays he) mixed with faith in them that 'heard it.' Can the miniſter then preach without faith? No, and much leſs can any man pray to purpoſe without faith, eſpecially when we are told, 'That the juſt 'live by faith.' For worſhip is the ſupreme act of man's life; and whatever is neceſſary to inferior acts of religion, muſt not be wanting there.

§. XV. This may moderate the wonder in any, why Chriſt ſo often upbraided his diſciples with, 'O ye of 'little faith!' yet tells us, that one grain of it (though as little as that of muſtard, one of the leaſt of ſeeds) if true and right, is able to remove mountains. As if he had ſaid, there is no temptation ſo powerful, that it cannot ſupply: wherefore thoſe that are captivated by temptations, and remain unſupplied in their ſpiritual

[l] Mat. xv. 28. [m] Jam. iv. 3.

ſpiritual wants, have not this powerful faith: that is the true cauſe. So neceſſary was it of old, that Chriſt did not many mighty works where the people believed not, and though his power wrought wonders in other places, faith opened the way: ſo that it is hard to ſay, whether that power by faith, or faith by that power, wrought the cure. Let us call to mind what famous things a little clay and ſpittle, one touch of the hem of Chriſt's garment, and a few words out of his mouth did, by the force of faith in the patients: 'Believe ye 'that I am able to open your eyes?' Yea, Lord, ſay the blind, and ſee. To the ruler, only believe: he did, and his dead daughter recovered life. Again, 'If thou 'canſt believe: I do believe,' ſays the father, 'help 'my unbelief;'[n] and the evil ſpirit was chaſed away, and the child recovered. He ſaid to one, 'Go, thy 'faith has made thee whole.' And to another, 'Thy 'faith has ſaved thee; thy ſins are forgiven thee.'[o] And to encourage his diſciples to believe, that were admiring how ſoon his ſentence was executed upon the fruitleſs fig-tree, he tells them, 'Verily, if ye have 'faith, and doubt not, ye ſhall not only do this, which 'is done to the fig-tree; but alſo, if ye ſhall ſay unto 'this mountain, be thou removed and caſt into the ſea, 'it ſhall be done, and all things whatſoever ye ſhall aſk 'in prayer, believing, ye ſhall receive.'[p] This one paſſage convicts Chriſtendom of groſs infidelity; for ſhe prays, and receives not.

§. XVI. But, may ſome ſay, it is impoſſible to receive all that a man may aſk. It is not impoſſible to receive all that a man, that ſo believes, can aſk. The fruits of faith are not impoſſible to thoſe that truly believe in the God that makes them poſſible.[q] When Jeſus ſaid to the ruler, 'If thou canſt believe,' he adds, 'all 'things are poſſible to him that believeth.'[r] Well, but then ſome will ſay, it is impoſſible to have ſuch faith: for this very faithleſs generation would excuſe

 their

[n] John ix 6 Luke viii 47 48 Mat. ix 29 30 Mat. ix 23 [o] Mark x 52 Luke vii 49 50 [p] Mat. xxi 20 21 22 [q] Mat. xviii 19 Luke xviii 27 [r] Mark ix 23

their want of faith by making it impoſſible to have the faith they want. But Chriſt's anſwer to the infidelity of that age, will beſt confute the diſbelief of this. 'The things that are impoſſible with men, are poſſible 'with God.'[s] It will follow then, that it is not impoſſible with God to give that faith; though it is certain, that 'without it, it is impoſſible to pleaſe God;'[t] for ſo the author to the Hebrews teaches. And if it be elſe impoſſible to pleaſe God, it muſt be ſo to pray to God without this precious faith.

§. XVII. But ſome may ſay, what is this faith, that is ſo neceſſary to worſhip, and that gives it ſuch acceptance with God, and returns that benefit to men? I ſay, it is an holy reſignation to God, and confidence in him, teſtified by a religious obedience to his holy requirings, which gives ſure evidence to the ſoul of the things not yet ſeen, and a general ſenſe and taſte of the ſubſtance of thoſe things that are hoped for; that is, the glory which is to be revealed hereafter. As this faith is the gift of God, ſo it purifies the hearts of thoſe that receive it. The apoſtle Paul is witneſs, that it will not dwell, but in a pure conſcience: he therefore in one place, couples a pure heart and faith unfeigned together: in another, faith and a good conſcience. James joins faith with righteouſneſs, and John with victory over the world: 'This,' ſays he, 'is the victory which 'overcomes the world, even your faith.'[u]

§. XVIII. The heirs of this faith are the true children of Abraham (though the uncircumciſion in the fleſh) in that they walk in the ſteps of father Abraham, according to the obedience of faith, which only entitles people to be the children of Abraham.[w] This lives above the world, not only in its ſin, but righteouſneſs; to which no man comes, but through death to ſelf, by the croſs of Jeſus, and an entire dependence, by him, upon God.[x]

Famous

[s] Mat xix 24, 25 26 Luke xviii 25 26 27 [t] Heb xi 6
[u] 1 Tim iii 9 ch. i 5 James ii 1 John v 4 [w] Rom iv 12
[x] John xvi 9 10

Famous are the exploits of this divine gift: time would fail to recount them; all ſacred ſtory is filled with them. But let it ſuffice, that by it the holy ancients endured all trials, overcame all enemies, prevailed with God, renowned his truth, finiſhed their teſtimony, and obtained the reward of the faithful, a crown of righteouſneſs, which is the eternal bleſſedneſs of the juſt.

CHAP. VII.

§. 1. Of pride, the firſt capital luſt, its riſe. §. 2. Its definition and diſtinction. §. 3. That an inordinate deſire of knowledge in Adam, introduced man's miſery. §. 4. He thereby loſt his integrity. §. 5. Who are in Adam's ſtate. §. 6. Knowledge puffs up. §. 7. The evil effects of falſe, and the benefit of true knowledge. §. 8. Cain's example a proof in the caſe. §. 9. The Jews' pride in pretending to be wiſer than Moſes, God's ſervant, in ſetting their poſt by God's poſt. §. 10. The effect of which was the perſecution of the true prophets. §. 11. The divine knowledge of Chriſt brought peace on earth. §. 12. Of the blind guides, the prieſts, and the miſchief they have done. §. 13. The fall of Chriſtians, and the pride they have taken in it, hath exceeded the Jews: under the profeſſion of their new-moulded Chriſtianity, they have murdered the witneſs of the Lord Jeſus. §. 14. The angels ſang peace on earth, at the birth of the Lord of meekneſs and humility: but the pride of the Phariſees withſtood and calumniated him. §. 15. As Adam and the Jews loſt themſelves by their ambition, ſo the Chriſtians, loſing the fear of God, grew creed and worſhip-makers, with this injunction, Conform or burn. §. 16. The evil effects of this in Chriſtendom (ſo called). §. 17. The way of recovery out of ſuch miſerable defection.

§. I.

§. I. HAVING thus discharged my conscience against that part of unlawful self, that fain would be a Christian, a believer, a saint, whilst a plain stranger to the cross of Christ, and the holy exercises of it; and in that briefly discovered what is true worship, and the use and business of the holy cross, therein to render its performance pleasing to Almighty God; I shall now (the same Lord assisting me) more largely prosecute that other part of unlawful self, which fills the study, care, and conversation of the world, presented to us in these three capital lusts; that is to say,

Pride, avarice, and luxury; from whence all other mischiefs daily flow, as streams from their proper fountains: the mortifying of which makes up the other; and indeed a very great part of the work of the true cross; and though last in place, yet first in experience and duty; which done, it introduces in the room of those evil habits, the blessed effects of that so-much needed reformation, to wit, 'mortification, humility, temperance, love, 'patience, and heavenly-mindedness,'[a] with all other graces of the Spirit, becoming the followers of the perfect Jesus, that most heavenly man.

The care and love of mankind are either directed to God or themselves. Those that love God above all, are ever humbling self to his commands, and only love self in subserviency to him that is Lord of all. But those that are declined from that love to God, are lovers of themselves more than God: for supreme love must center in one of these two. To that inordinate self-love, the apostle rightly joins proud and high-minded.[b] For no sooner had the angels declined their love, duty, and reverence to God, than they inordinately loved and valued themselves; which made them exceed their station, and aspire above the order of their creation. This was their pride, and this sad defection their dismal fall: who are reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day of God.

§. II. Pride,

[a] Gal. v 22 23. [b] 2 Tim. iii 2 3.

§. II. Pride, that pernicious evil, which begins this chapter, did alſo begin the miſery of mankind: a moſt miſchievous quality; and ſo commonly known by its motions, and ſad effects, that every unmortified breaſt carries its definition in it. However, I will ſay, in ſhort, that pride is an exceſs of ſelf-love, joined with an undervaluing of others, and a deſire of dominion over them: the moſt troubleſome thing in the world. There are four things by which it hath made itſelf beſt known to mankind, the conſequences of which have brought an equal miſery to its evil. The firſt is, an inordinate purſuit of knowledge. The ſecond, an ambitious ſeeking and craving after power. The third, an extreme deſire of perſonal reſpect and deference. The laſt exceſs is that of worldly furniture and ornaments. To the juſt and true witneſs of the eternal God, placed in the ſouls of all people, I appeal as to the truth of theſe things.

§. III. To the firſt, it is plain that an inordinate deſire of knowledge introduced man's miſery, and brought an univerſal lapſe from the glory of his primitive ſtate. Adam would needs be wiſer than God had made him. It did not ſerve his turn to know his Creator, and give him that holy homage, his being and innocence naturally engaged and excited him to; nor to have an 'underſtanding above all the beaſts of the field, the fowls 'of the air, and the fiſhes of the ſea,'[c] joined with a power to rule over all the viſible creation of God, but he muſt be as wiſe as God too.[d] This unwarrantable ſearch, and as fooliſh as unjuſt ambition, made him unworthy of the bleſſings he received from God. This drives him out of paradiſe; and inſtead of being lord of the whole world, Adam becomes the wretchedeſt vagabond of the earth.[e]

§. IV. A ſtrange change! that inſtead of being as gods, they ſhould fall below the very beaſts; in compariſon of whom even God had made them as gods. The lamentable conſequence of this great defection has been,

[c] Gen. ii 19 29 [d] Gen. iii 5 [e] Ch. iii 4.

been an exchange of innocency for guilt, and a paradiſe for a wilderneſs. But, which is yet worſe, in this ſtate Adam and Eve had got another god than the only true and living God: and he that had enticed them to all this miſchief, furniſhed them with a vain knowledge, and pernicious wiſdom: the ſkill of lies and equivocations, ſhifts, evaſions, and excuſes. They had loſt their plainneſs and ſincerity; and from an upright heart, the image in which God had made man, he became a crooked, twining, twiſting ſerpent; the image of that unrighteous ſpirit, to whoſe temptations he yielded up, with his obedience, his paradifical happineſs.

§. V. Nor is this limited to Adam; for all who have fallen ſhort of the glory of God, are right-born ſons of his diſobedience. They, like him, have eaten of what they have been forbidden: they have 'committed the 'things they ought not to have done, and left undone 'the things they ought to have done.'[r] They have ſinned againſt that divine light of knowledge, which God has given them: they have grieved his ſpirit: and that diſmal ſentence has been executed, 'In the day that 'thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt die.'[s] That is, when thou doeſt the thing which thou oughteſt not to do, thou ſhalt no more live in my favour, and enjoy the comforts of the peace of my ſpirit; which is a dying to all thoſe innocent and holy deſires and affections, which God created man with: and he becomes as one cold and benumbed; inſenſible of the love of God, of his Holy Spirit, power and wiſdom; of the light and joy of his countenance, and of the evidence of a good conſcience, and the co-witneſſing and approbation of God's Holy Spirit.

§. VI. So that fallen Adam's knowledge of God ſtood no more in a daily experience of the love and work of God in his ſoul, but in a notion of what he once did know and experience; which being not the true and living wiſdom that is from above, but a mere picture, it cannot preſerve man in purity; but puffs up, makes people proud, high-minded, and impatient of contradiction.

[r] Rom. vii. [s] Gen. ii 17.

tradiction. This was the ſtate of the apoſtate Jews before Chriſt came; and has been the condition of apoſtate Chriſtians ever ſince he came: their religion ſtanding (ſome bodily performances excepted) either in what they once knew of the work of God in themſelves, and which they have revolted from; or in an hiſtorical belief, and an imaginary conception and paraphraſe upon the experiences and prophecies of ſuch holy men and women of God, as in all ages have deſerved the ſtyle and character of his true children.

§. VII. As ſuch a knowledge of God cannot be true, ſo by experience we find, that it ever brings forth the quite contrary fruits to the true wiſdom. For as this is firſt pure, then peaceable, then gentle, and eaſy to be entreated: ſo the knowledge of degenerated and unmortified men is firſt impure:[h] for it came by the commiſſion of evil, and is held in an evil and impure conſcience and heart, that diſobey God's law, and that daily do thoſe things which they ought not to do; and for which they ſtand condemned before God's judgment-ſeat in the ſouls of men: the light of whoſe preſence ſearches the moſt hidden things of darkneſs, the moſt ſecret thoughts, and concealed inclinations of ungodly men. This is the ſcience, falſely ſo called; and as it is impure, ſo it is unpeaceable, croſs and hard to be entreated; froward, perverſe, and perſecuting: jealous that any ſhould be better than they, and hating and abuſing thoſe that are.

§. VIII. It was this pride made Cain a murderer: it is a ſpiteful quality; full of envy and revenge.[i] What! was not his religion and worſhip as good as his brother's? He had all the exterior parts of worſhip: he offered as well as Abel, and the offering of itſelf might be as good; but it ſeems the heart, that offered it, was not. So long ago did God regard the interior worſhip of the ſoul. Well! what was the conſequence of this difference? Cain's pride ſtomached it; he could not bear to be outdone by his brother. He grew wrathful, and

[h] Jam. iii 17. [i] Gen. iv 8.

and resolved to vindicate his offering, by revenging the refusal of it upon his brother's life; and without any regard to natural affection, or the low and early condition of mankind, he barbarously dyed his hands in his brother's blood.

§. IX. The religion of the apostatized Jews did no better; for, having lost the inward life, power, and spirit of the law, they were puffed up with that knowledge they had; and their pretences to Abraham, Moses, and the promises of God, in that frame, served only to blow them up into an unsufferable pride, arrogance and cruelty. For they could not bear true vision, when it came to visit them, and entertained the messengers of their peace as if they had been wolves and tygers.

§. X. Yea, it is remarkable, the false prophets, the great engineers against the true ones, were ever sure to persecute them as false; and by their interest with earthly princes, or the poor seduced multitude, made them the instruments of their malice. Thus it was that one holy prophet was sawn asunder, another stoned to death, &c. So proud and obstinate is false knowledge, and the aspirers after it; which made holy Stephen cry out, 'O ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in 'heart and ear, ye resist the Holy Ghost; as did your 'fathers, so do ye.'[k]

§. XI. The true knowledge came with the joy of angels, singing, 'peace on earth, and good-will to-'wards men:'[l] the false knowledge entertained the message with calumnies: Christ must needs be an impostor; and that must prove him so, to wit, his power of working of miracles; which was that which proved the contrary. They stoned him, and frequently sought to kill him; which at last they wickedly accomplished. But what was their motive to it? Why, he cried out against their hypocrisy, the broad phylacteries, the honour they sought of men. To be short, they give the reason themselves in these words; 'If we let him 'thus

[k] Acts vii 51. [l] Luke ii 14.

'thus alone, all men will believe on him:[m] that is, he will take away our credit with the people; they will adhere to him, and desert us; and so we shall lose our power and reputation with the multitude.

§. XII. And, the truth is, he came to level their honour, to overthrow their rabbyship, and by his grace to bring the people to that inward knowledge of God, which they, by transgression, were departed from: that so they might see the deceitfulness of their blind guides, who, by their vain traditions, had made void the righteousness of the law: and who were so far from being the true doctors, and lively expounders of it, that in reality they were the children of the devil, who was a proud liar, and cruel murderer from the beginning.

§. XIII. Their pride in false knowledge having made them uncapable of receiving the simplicity of the gospel, Christ thanks his Father, that he had hid the mysteries of it from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes.[n] It was this false wisdom swelled the minds of the Athenians to that degree, that they despised the preaching of the apostle Paul, as a vain and foolish thing. But that apostle, who of all the rest had an education in the learning of those times, bitterly reflects on that wisdom, so much valued by Jews and Greeks: 'Where (says he) is the wise? where is the 'scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath 'not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?'[o] And he gives a good reason for it, 'that no flesh should 'glory in his presence.'[p] Which is to say, God will stain the pride of man in false knowledge, that he should have nothing on this occasion to be proud of; it should be owing only to the revelation of the Spirit of God. The apostle goes farther, and affirms, 'that the world 'by wisdom knew not God:'[q] that is, it was so far from an help, that, as men use it, it was an hindrance to the true knowledge of God. And in his first epistle to

[m] John xlvii 11 [n] Mat. xi 25. [o] 1 Cor. i 20 [p] 1 Cor. i 29 [q] 1 Cor. i 21

his beloved Timothy, he concludes thus: 'O Timothy! 'keep that which is committed to thy truſt; avoiding 'profane and vain babblings, and oppoſitions of ſci-'ence, falſely ſo called;'[r] This was the ſenſe of apoſtolical times, when the divine grace gave the true knowledge of God, and was the guide of Chriſtians.

§. XIV. Well! but what has been the ſucceſs of thoſe ages, that followed the apoſtolical? any whit better than that of the Jewiſh times? Not one jot. They have exceeded them; as with their pretences to greater knowledge, ſo in their degeneracy from the true Chriſtian life; for though they had a more excellent pattern than the Jews, to whom God ſpoke by Moſes his ſervant, he, ſpeaking to them by his beloved Son, the expreſs image of his ſubſtance, the perfection of all meekneſs and humility; and though they ſeemed addicted to nothing more, than an adoration of his name, and a veneration to the memory of his bleſſed diſciples and apoſtles; yet ſo great was their defection from the inward power and life of Chriſtianity in the ſoul, that their reſpect was little more than formal and ceremonious. For notwithſtanding they, like the Jews, were mighty zealous in garniſhing their ſepulchres, and curious in carving of their images; not only keeping with any pretence what might be the reliques of their perſons, but recommending a thouſand things as reliques which are purely fabulous, and very often ridiculous and to be ſure altogether unchriſtian: yet, as to the great and weighty things of the Chriſtian law, viz. love, meekneſs, and ſelf-denial, they were degenerated: they grew high-minded, proud, boaſters, without natural affection, curious, and controverſial; ever perplexing the church with doubtful and dubious queſtions: filling the people with diſputations, ſtrife and wrangling, drawing them into parties, till at laſt they fell into blood; as if they had been the worſe for being once Chriſtians.

O the

[r] 1 Tim. vi 20.

O the miſerable ſtate of theſe pretended Chriſtians! that inſtead of Chriſt's, and his apoſtles doctrine, of loving enemies, and bleſſing them that curſe them, they ſhould teach the people, under the notion of Chriſtian zeal, moſt inhumanly to butcher one another; and inſtead of ſuffering their own blood to be ſhed for the teſtimony of Jeſus, they ſhould ſhed the blood of the witneſſes of Jeſus, for hereticks: thus that ſubtile ſerpent, or crafty evil-ſpirit, that tempted Adam out of innocency, and the Jews from the law of God, has beguiled the Chriſtians, by lying vanities, to depart from the Chriſtian law of holineſs, and ſo they are become ſlaves to him; for he rules in the hearts of the children of diſobedience.

§. XV. And it is obſervable, that as pride (which is ever followed by ſuperſtition and obſtinacy) put Adam upon ſeeking an higher ſtation than God placed him in; and as the Jews, out of the ſame pride, to outdo their pattern, given them of God by Moſes upon the mount, ſet their poſt by God's poſt, and taught for doctrines their own traditions, inſomuch that thoſe that refuſed conformity to them ran the hazard of Crucify, crucify; ſo the nominal Chriſtians, from the ſame ſin of pride, with great ſuperſtition and arrogance, have introduced, inſtead of a ſpiritual worſhip and diſcipline, that which is evidently ceremonious and worldly; with ſuch innovations and traditions of men, as are the fruit of the wiſdom that is from below: witneſs their numerous and perplexed councils and creeds, with, Conform, or burn, at the end of them.

§. XVI. And as this unwarrantable pride ſet them firſt at work, to prevent the ſpirituality of the Chriſtian cult, making it rather to reſemble the ſhadowy religion of the Jews, and the gaudy worſhip of the Egyptians, than the great plainneſs and ſimplicity of the Chriſtian inſtitution, which is neither to reſemble that of the mountain, nor the other of Jeruſalem; ſo has the ſame pride and arrogancy ſpurred them on, by all imaginable cruelties, to maintain this great Diana of theirs. No meek ſupplications, nor humble remonſtrances of thoſe that

that kept close to primitive purity in worship and doctrine, could prevail with these nominal Christians, to dispense with the imposition of their un-apostolical traditions. But as the ministers and bishops of these degenerate Christians, left their painful visitation and care over Christ's flock, and grew ambitious, covetous, and luxurious, resembling rather worldly potentates, then the humble-spirited and mortified followers of the blessed Jesus: so almost every history tells us, with what pride and cruelty, blood and butchery, and that with unusual and exquisite tortures, they have persecuted the holy members of Christ, out of the world; and that upon such anathemas, that as far as they could, they have disappointed them of the blessings of heaven too. These, true Christians call martyrs; but the clergy, like the persecuting Jews, have styled them blasphemers and hereticks; in which they have fulfilled the prophecy of our Lord Jesus Christ; who did not say, that they should think they do the gods good service to kill the Christians, his dear followers (which might refer to the persecutions of the idolatrous Gentiles) but that they should think they do God good service to kill them:[r] which shews, that they should be such as professedly owned the true God as the apostate Christians have all along pretended to do. So that they must be those wolves, that the apostle foretold should arise out of themselves, and worry the flock of Christ, after the great falling-away should commence, that was foretold by him, and made necessary, in order to the proving of the faithful, and the revelation of the great mystery of iniquity.[s]

I shall conclude this head with this assertion, that it is too undeniable a truth, where the clergy has been most in power and authority, and has had the greatest influence upon princes and states, there has been most confusions, wrangles, blood-shed, sequestrations, imprisonments, and exiles: to the justifying of which, I call the testimony of the records of all times. How it

[r] John xvi 2 [s] Acts xx 29

it is in our age, I leave to the experience of the living: yet there is one demonstration that can hardly fail us: the people are not converted, but debauched, to a degree, that time will not allow us an example. The worship of Christendom is visible, ceremonious, and gaudy; the clergy ambitious of worldly preferments, under the pretence of spiritual promotions; making the earthly revenues of church-men, much the reason of their function; being almost ever sure to leave the present small incumbence, to solicit and obtain benefices of larger title and income. So that with their pride and avarice, which good old Peter foresaw would be their snares, they have drawn after them, ignorance, misery, and irreligion upon Christendom.

§. XVII. The way of recovery from this miserable defection is, to come to a saving knowledge of religion: that is, an experience of the divine work of God in the soul; to obtain which, be diligent to obey the grace that appears in thy own soul, O man! that brings salvation, it turns thee out of the broad way, into the narrow way; from thy lusts to thy duty, from sin to holiness, from Satan to God.[u] Thou must see and abhor self, thou must watch, and thou must pray, and thou must fast; thou must not look at thy tempter, but at thy preserver; avoid ill company, retire to thy solitudes, and be a chaste pilgrim in this evil world: and thus thou wilt arrive to the knowledge of God and Christ, that brings eternal life to the soul: a well-grounded assurance from what a man feels and knows within himself; such shall not be moved with evil tidings.

[u] Tit. ii 4 11 12 14.

CHAP

CHAP. VIII.

§. 1. Pride craves power as well as knowledge. §. 2. The caſe of Korah, &c. a proof. §. 3. Abſalom's ambition confirms it. §. 4. Nebuchadnezzar's does the like. §. 5. The hiſtory of Piſiſtratus, Alexander, Cæſar, &c. ſhews the ſame thing. §. 6. The Turks are a lively proof, who have ſhed much blood to gratify pride for power. §. 7. The laſt ten years in Chriſtendom exceed in proof of this. §. 8. Ambition reſts not in courts, it finds room in private breaſts too, and ſpoils families and ſocieties. §. 9. Their peace is great, that limit their deſires by God's grace, and having power, uſe it to the good of others.

§. I. BUT let us ſee the next moſt common, eminent, and miſchievous effect of this evil. Pride does extremely crave power, than which, not one thing has proved more troubleſome and deſtructive to mankind. I need not labour myſelf much in evidence of this, ſince moſt of the wars of nations, depopulation of kingdoms, ruin of cities, with the ſlavery and miſery that have followed, both our own experience and unqueſtionable hiſtories acquaint us to have been the effect of ambition, which is the luſt of pride after power.

§. II. How ſpecious ſoever might be the pretences of Korah, Dathan and Abiram againſt Moſes, it was their emulation of his mighty power in the camp of Iſrael, that put them upon conſpiracies and mutinies. They longed for his authority, and their not having it was his crime, for they had a mind to be the heads and leaders of the people. The conſequence of which was, a remarkable deſtruction, to themſelves, and all their unhappy accomplices.

§. III. Abſalom too was for the people's rights, againſt the tyranny of his father and his king :[a] at leaſt, with this pretence he palliated his ambition : but his rebellion

[a] 2 Sam. xv.

lion ſhewed he was impatient for power, and that he reſolved to ſacrifice his duty, as a ſon and ſubject, to the importunities of his reſtleſs pride, which brought a miſerable death to himſelf, and an extraordinary ſlaughter upon his army.

§. IV. Nebuchadnezzar is a lively inſtance of the exceſſive luſt of pride for power. His ſucceſſes and empire were too heady for him: ſo much too ſtrong for his underſtanding, that he forgot he did not make himſelf, or that his power had a ſuperior. He makes an image, and all muſt bow to it, or be burnt. And when Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego refuſed to comply, 'Who (ſays he) is that God that ſhall deliver you 'out of my hands?'[b] And notwithſtanding the convictions he had upon him, at the conſtancy of thoſe excellent men, and Daniel's interpretation of his dreams, it was not long before the pride of his power had filled his heart, and then his mouth, with this haughty queſtion, 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built 'for the houſe of the kingdom by the might of my 'power, and for the honour of my majeſty?'[c] But we are told, that while the words were in his mouth, 'a 'voice from heaven rebuked the pride of his ſpirit, and 'he was driven from the ſociety of men, to graze among 'the beaſts of the field.'

§. V. If we look into the hiſtories of the world, we ſhall find many inſtances to prove the miſchief of this luſt of pride. I will mention a few of them for their ſakes, who have either not read or conſidered them.

Solon made Athens free by his excellent conſtitution of laws: but the ambition of Piſiſtratus began the ruin of it before his eyes. Alexander, not contented with his own kingdom, invades others, and filled with ſpoil and ſlaughter thoſe countries he ſubdued: and it was not ill ſaid by him, who, when Alexander accuſed him of piracy, told him to his face, that Alexander was the greateſt pirate in the world. It was the ſame ambition that made Cæſar turn traitor to his maſters, and with

[b] Dan. iii [c] Dan. iv 30.

with their own army, put into his hand for their ſervice, ſubdue them to his yoke, and uſurp the government; which ended in the expulſion of freedom and virtue together in that commonwealth; for goodneſs quickly grew to be faction in Rome; and that ſobriety and wiſdom, which ever rendered her ſenators venerable, became dangerous to their ſafety; inſomuch that his ſucceſſors hardly left one they did not kill or baniſh: unleſs ſuch as turned to be flatterers of their unjuſt acquiſition, and the imitators of their debauched manners.

§. VI. The Turks are a great proof to the point in hand; who to extend their dominion, have been the cauſe of ſhedding much blood, and laying many ſtately countries waſte. And yet they are to be out-done by apoſtate Chriſtians: whoſe practice is therefore more condemnable, becauſe they have been better taught: they have had a maſter of another doctrine and example. It is true, they call him Lord ſtill, but let their ambition reign: they love power more than one another; and to get it, kill one another; though charged by him, not to ſtrive, but to love and ſerve one another.[d] And, which adds to the tragedy, all natural affection is ſacrificed to the fury of this luſt; and therefore are ſtories ſo often ſtained with the murder of parents, children, uncles, nephews, maſters, &c.

§. VII. If we look abroad into remoter parts of the world, we ſhould rarely hear of wars; but in Chriſtendom, of peace. A very trifle is too often made a ground of quarrel here: nor can any league be ſo ſacred or inviolable, that arts ſhall not be uſed to evade and diſſolve it, to increaſe dominion. No matter who, nor how many, are ſlain, made widows and orphans, or loſe their eſtates and livelihoods: what countries are ruined; what towns and cities ſpoiled; if by all theſe things the ambitious can but arrive at their ends? To go no farther back than ſixty years, that little period of time will furniſh us with many wars begun upon ill grounds, and ended

[d] Mat. xviii 1 to 6 Mark ix 33 to 37.

ended in great desolation. Nay, the last twelve years of our time make as pregnant a demonstration, as we can furnish ourselves with from the records of any age. It is too tedious, nor is it my business to be particular: it has been often well observed by others, and is almost known to all; I mean the French, Spanish, German, English, and Dutch wars.

§. VIII. But ambition does not only dwell in courts, and senates: it is too natural to every private breast to strain for power. We daily see how much men labour their utmost wit and interest to be great, to get higher places, or greater titles than they have, that they may look bigger, and be more acknowledged: take place of their former equals, and so equal those that were once their superiors; compel friends, and be revenged on enemies. This makes Christianity so little loved of worldly men, its kingdom is not of this world: and though they may speak it fair, it is the world they love; that without uncharitableness we may truly say, people profess Christianity, but they follow the world. They are not for seeking the kingdom of heaven first,[c] and the righteousness thereof, and to trust God with the rest; but for securing to themselves the wealth and glory of this world, and adjourning the care of salvation to a sick-bed, and the extreme moments of life; if yet they believe a life to come.

§. IX. To conclude this head; great is their peace, who know a limit to their ambitious minds, that have learnt to be contented with the appointments and bounds of providence; that are not careful to be great, but being great, are humble, and do good. Such keep their wits with their consciences, and with an even mind, can at all times measure the uneven world, rest fixed in the midst of all its uncertainties, and as becomes those who have an interest in a better, in the good time and will of God, cheerfully leave this; when the ambitious, conscious of their evil practices, and weighed down to their graves with guilt, must go to a tribunal, that they can neither awe nor bribe.

[c] Mat. vi 33.

CHAP. IX.

§. 1. The third evil effect of pride, is love of honour and respect. Too many are guilty of it. §. 2. It had like to have cost Mordecai dear. Great mischief has befallen nations on this account. §. 3. The world is out in the business of true honour, as well as in that of true science. §. 4. Reasons why the author, and the rest of the people he walks with, use not these fashions. §. 5. The first is, the sense they had in the hour of their conviction, of the unsuitableness of them to the Christian spirit and practice, and that the root they came from was pride and self-love. §. 6. Reproach could not move them from that sense and practice accordingly. §. 7. They do it not to make sects, or for distinction. §. 8. Nor yet to countenance formality, but passively let drop vain customs, and so are negative to forms. §. 9. Their behaviour is a test upon the world. §. 10. And this cross to the world a test upon them. §. 11. The second reason against them is their emptiness. §. 12. Honour in scripture, is not so taken as it is in the world. It is used for obedience. §. 13. It is used for preferment. §. 14. A digression about folly in a scripture sense. §. 15. Honour is used for reputation. §. 16. Honour is also attributed to functions and capacities, by way of esteem. §. 17. Honour is taken for help and countenance of inferiors. §. 18 Honour is used for service and esteem to all states and capacities; honour all men. §. 19. Yet there is a limitation in a sense to the righteous by the Psalmist: to honour the godly and contemn the wicked. §. 20. Little of this honour found in the world's fashions. §. 21. The third reason against them is, they mock and cheat people of the honour due to them. §. 22. The author and his friends are for true honour. §. 23. The fourth reason is, that if the fashions carried true honour in them, the debauched could honour men, which cannot be. §. 24. The fifth reason is, that then men of spite, hypocrisy, and revenge, could

pay

pay honour, which is impoſſible. §. 25. The ſixth reaſon is drawn from the antiquity of true honour. § 26. The ſeventh reaſon is from the riſe of the vain honour, and the teachers of it, wherein the clown, upon a compariſon, excels the courtier for a man of breeding. §. 26. The eighth reaſon againſt theſe honours is, that they may be had for money, which true honour cannot be. §. 28. The ninth and laſt reaſon is, becauſe the holy ſcripture expreſsly forbids them to true Chriſtians. §. 29. As in the caſe of Mordecai. §. 30. A paſſage between a biſhop and the author in this matter. §. 31. Likewiſe the caſe of Elihu in Job. §. 32. Alſo the doctrine of Chriſt to his diſciples. §. 33. Paul againſt conforming to the world's faſhions. §. 34. Peter againſt faſhioning ourſelves according to the world's luſt. §. 35. James againſt reſpect to perſons. §. 36. Yet Chriſtians are civil and mannerly in a right way. §. 37. But unlike the world in the nature of it, and motives to it. §. 38. Teſtimonies in favour of our diſſent and practice.

§. I. THE third evil effect of pride is, an exceſſive deſire of perſonal honour and reſpect. Pride therefore loves power, that ſhe might have homage, and that every one may give her honour: and ſuch as are wanting in that, expoſe themſelves to her anger and revenge. And as pride, ſo this evil effect, is more or leſs diffuſed through corrupt mankind; and has been the occaſion of great animoſity and miſchief in the world.

§. II. We have a pregnant inſtance in holy writ, what malice and revenge the ſtomach of proud man is capable of, when not gratified in this particular. It had almoſt coſt Mordecai his neck, and the whole people of the Jews their lives, becauſe he would not bow himſelf to Haman, who was a great favourite to king Ahaſuerus. And the practice of the world, even in our own age, will tell us, that not ſtriking a flag or ſail; and not ſaluting certain ports or garriſons; yea, leſs things have

have given rise to mighty wars between states and kingdoms, to the expense of much treasure, but more blood. The like has followed about the precedency of princes, and their ambassadors. Also the envy, quarrels and mischiefs, that have happened among private persons, upon conceit that they have not been respected to their degree of quality among men, with hat, knee, or title: to be sure duels and murders not a few. I was once myself in France* set upon about eleven at night, as I was walking to my lodging, by a person that way-laid me, with his naked sword in his hand, who demanded satisfaction of me, for taking no notice of him, at a time when he civilly saluted me with his hat; though the truth was, I saw him not when he did it. I will suppose he had killed me, for he made several passes at me, or I in my defence had killed him, when I disarmed him (as the earl of Crawford's servant saw, that was by) I ask any man of understanding or conscience, if the whole ceremony were worth the life of a man, considering the dignity of the nature, and the importance of the life of man, both with respect to God his creator, himself, and the benefit of civil society?

§. III. But the truth is, the world, under its degeneracy from God, is as much out of the way, as to true honour and respect, as in other things: for mere shews (and those vain ones too) are much of the honour and respect that are expressed in the world: that a man may say concerning them, as the apostle speaks of science, that is, they are honours and respects "falsely so called;" having nothing of the nature of true honour and respect in them; but as degenerate men, loving to be honoured, first devised them; so pride only loves and seeks them, and is affronted and angry for want of them. Did men know a true Christian state, and the honour that comes from above, which Jesus teaches,[a] they would not covet these very vanities, much less insist upon them.

§. IV.

* Which was before I professed the communion I am now of.

[a] John v 44

§. IV. And here give me leave to set down the reasons more particularly, why I, and the people with whom I walk in religious society, have declined as vain and foolish, several worldly customs and fashions of respect, much in request at this time of day: and I beseech thee reader, to lay aside all prejudice and scorn, and with the meekness and inquiry of a sober and discreet mind, read and weigh what may be here alledged in our defence: and if we are mistaken, rather pity and inform, than despise and abuse, our simplicity.

§. V. The first and most pressing motive upon our spirits to decline the practice of these present customs of pulling off the hat, bowing the body or knee, and giving people gaudy titles and epithets, in our salutations and addresses, was, that savour, sight, and sense, that God, by his light and spirit, has given us of the Christian world's apostacy from God, and the cause and effects of that great and lamentable defection. In the discovery of which, the sense of our state came first before us, and we were made to see him whom we pierced, and to mourn for it. A day of humiliation overtook us, and we fainted to that pleasure and delight we once loved. Now our works went beforehand to judgment, and a thorough search was made, and the words of the prophet became well understood by us: 'Who 'can abide the day of his coming? And who shall stand 'when he appears? He is like a refiner's fire, and like 'fuller's soap.'[b] And, as the apostle said, 'If the righ-'teous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and 'the sinner appear?' 'Wherefore, says the apostle Paul, 'knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men:'[c] what to do? To come out of the nature, spirit, lusts, and customs of this wicked world; remembering that, as Jesus has said, for every idle word that man speaketh, he shall give an account in the day of judgment.[d]

This concern of mind, and dejection of spirit, was visible to our neighbours; and we are not ashamed to own,

[b] Mal. iii 2 [c] 1 Pet. iv 18 2 Cor. v 11 [d] Mat. xii 36.

own, that the terrors of the Lord took such hold upon us, because we had long under a profession of religion grieved God's Holy Spirit, that reproved us in secret for our disobedience; that as we abhorred to think of continuing in our old sins, so we feared to use lawful things, lest we should use them unlawfully. The words of the prophet were fulfilled on us: 'Wherefore do I see 'every man with his hands on his loins, as a woman in 'travail?'[e] Many a pang and throe have we had; our heaven seemed to melt away, and our earth to be removed out of its place; and we were like men, as the apostle said, 'upon whom the ends of the world 'were come.' God knows it was so in this day, the brightness of his coming to our souls discovered, and the breath of his mouth destroyed, every plant he had not planted in us. He was a swift witness against every evil thought, and every unfruitful work: and, blessed be his name, we were not offended in him, or at his righteous judgments. Now it was, that a grand inquest came upon our whole life: every word, thought and deed was brought to judgment: the root examined, and its tendency considered. 'The lust of the eye, the lust 'of the flesh, and the pride of life, were opened to our 'view; the mystery of iniquity in us.'[f] And by knowing the evil leaven, and its divers evil effects in ourselves, how it had wrought, and what it had done, we came to have a sense and knowledge of the state of others: and what we could not, nay, we dare not let live and continue in ourselves (as being manifested to us to proceed from an evil principle in the time of man's degeneracy) we could not comply with in others. Now this I say, and that in the fear and presence of the all-seeing just God, the present honours and respect of the world, among other things, became burdensome to us; we saw they had no being in paradise, that they grew in the night-time, and came from an ill root; and that they only delighted a vain and ill mind, and that much pride and folly were in them.

§. VI.

[e] Jer. xxx 6 [f] 1 John ii 16.

§. VI. And though we eaſily foreſaw the ſtorms of reproach that would fall upon us, for our refuſing to practiſe them: yet we were ſo far from being ſhaken in our judgment, that it abundantly confirmed our ſenſe of them. For ſo exalted a thing is man, and ſo loving of honour and reſpect even from his fellow-creatures, that ſo ſoon as in tenderneſs of conſcience towards God, we could not perform them, as formerly, he became more concerned than for all the reſt of our differences, however material to ſalvation. So that let the honour of God, and our own ſalvation, do as it will, it was greater hereſy and blaſphemy to refuſe him the homage of the hat, and his uſual titles of honour: to deny to pledge his healths, or play with him at cards and dice, than any other principle we maintained; for being leſs in his view, it ſeemed not ſo much in his way.

§. VII. And though it be frequently objected, that we ſeek to ſet up outward forms of preciſeneſs, and that it is but as a green ribbon, the badge of the party, the better to be known: I do declare in the fear of Almighty God, that theſe are but the imaginations and vain conſtructions of unſenſible men, that have not had that ſenſe, which the Lord hath given us, of what ariſes from the right and the wrong root in man: and when ſuch cenſurers of our ſimplicity ſhall be inwardly touched and awakened, by the mighty power of God, and ſee things as they are in their proper natures and ſeeds, they will then know their own burden, and eaſily acquit us without the imputation of folly or hypocriſy therein.

§. VIII. To ſay, that we ſtrain at ſmall things, which becomes not people of ſo fair pretenſions to liberty and freedom of ſpirit: I anſwer with meekneſs, truth and ſobriety: firſt, nothing is ſmall, that God makes matter of conſequence to do, or leave undone. Next, as inconſiderable as they are made, by thoſe that object upon us, they are much ſet by; ſo greatly, as for our not giving them, to be beaten, impriſoned, refuſed juſtice, &c. To ſay nothing of the deriſion and reproach that hath been frequently flung at us on this account. So that if we had wanted a proof of the truth of our inward be-

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lief and judgment, the very practice of them that oppoſed it would have abundantly confirmed us. But let it ſuffice to us, that 'wiſdom is juſtified of her 'children:'[g] we only paſſively let fall the practice of what we are taught to believe is vain and unchriſtian; in which we are negative to forms; for we leave off, we do not ſet up forms.

§. IX. The world is ſo ſet upon the ceremonious part and outſide of things, that it has well beſeemed the wiſdom of God in all ages, to bring forth his diſpenſations with very different appearances to their ſettled cuſtoms; thereby contradicting human inventions, and proving the integrity of his confeſſors. Nay, it is a teſt upon the world: it tries what patience, kindneſs, ſobriety, and moderation they have: if the rough and homely outſide of truth ſtumble not their minds from the reception of it (whoſe beauty is within) it makes a great diſcovery upon them. For he who refuſes a precious jewel, becauſe it is preſented in a plain box, will never eſteem it to its value, nor ſet his heart upon keeping it; therefore I call it a teſt, becauſe it ſhews where the hearts and affections of people ſtick, after all their great pretences to more excellent things.

§. X. It is alſo a mighty trial upon God's people, in that they are put upon the diſcovery of their contradiction to the cuſtoms generally received and eſteemed in the world; which expoſes them to the wonder, ſcorn, and abuſe of the multitude. But there is an hidden treaſure in it; it innures us to reproach, it learns us to deſpiſe the falſe reputation of the world, and ſilently to undergo the contradiction and ſcorn of its votaries; and finally, with a Chriſtian meekneſs and patience, to overcome their injuries and reproaches. Add to this; it weans thee off thy familiars; for by being ſlighted of them as a ninney, a fool, a frantick, &c. thou art delivered from a greater temptation, and that is, the power and influence of their vain converſation. And, laſt of all, it liſts thee of the company of the bleſſed, mocked,

[g] Mat. xi 19

mocked, perſecuted Jeſus; to fight under his banner, againſt the world, the fleſh, and the devil: that after having faithfully ſuffered with them in a ſtate of humiliation, thou mayeſt reign with him in a ſtate of glorification; who glorifies his poor, deſpiſed, conſtant followers, with the glory he had with his father before the world began.[h] This was the firſt reaſon of our declining to practiſe the before-mentioned honours, reſpects, &c.

§. XI. The ſecond reaſon, why we decline and refuſe the preſent uſe of theſe cuſtoms in our addreſſes and ſalutations is, from the conſideration of their very emptineſs and vanity; that there is nothing of true honour and reſpect in them, ſuppoſing them not to be evil. And as religion and worſhip are degenerated into form and ceremony (and they not according to primitive practice neither) ſo is honour and reſpect too: there being little of that in the world, as well as of the other; and to be ſure, in theſe cuſtoms, none that is juſtifiable by ſcripture or reaſon.

§. XII. In ſcripture, we find the word Honour often and diverſely uſed. Firſt, for obedience: as when God ſaith, 'They that honour me;'[i] that is, that keep my commandments. 'Honour the king;'[k] that is, obey the king. 'Honour thy father and mother;'[l] that is (ſaith the apoſtle to the Epheſians) 'Obey thy father 'and thy mother in the Lord, for that is right;'[m] take heed to their precepts and advice: preſuppoſing always, that rulers and parents command lawful things, elſe they diſhonour themſelves to enjoin unlawful things; and ſubjects and children diſhonour their ſuperiors and parents, in complying with their unrighteous commands. Alſo, Chriſt uſes this word ſo, when he ſays, 'I have not a devil, but I honour my Father, and ye 'diſhonour me:'[n] that is, I do my Father's will, in what I do; but you will not hear me; you reject my counſel, and will not obey my voice. It was not re-

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[h] John xvii 5 [i] 1 Sam. ii 30 [k] 1 Pet. ii 17 [l] Exod. xx 12 [m] Eph. vi 1 2 [n] John viii 49.

fuſing hat and knee, nor empty titles; no, it was diſobedience; reſiſting him that God had ſent, and not believing him. This was the diſhonour he taxed them with; uſing him as an impoſtor, that God had ordained for the ſalvation of the world. And of theſe diſhonourers, there are but too many at this day. Chriſt has a ſaying to the ſame effect: 'That all men ſhould 'honour the Son, even as they honour the Father; and 'he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the 'Father, which hath ſent him:' that is, they that hearken not to Chriſt, and do not worſhip and obey him, they do not hear, worſhip, nor obey God. As they pretended to believe in God, ſo they were to have believed in him; he told them ſo. This is pregnantly manifeſted in the caſe of the centurion, whoſe faith was ſo much commended by Chriſt, where, giving Jeſus an account of his honourable ſtation, he tells him, 'He 'had ſoldiers under his authority, and when he ſaid to 'one, Go, he went; to another, Come, he came; and 'to a third, Do this, he did it.'[p] In this it was he placed the honour of his capacity, and the reſpect of his ſoldiers, and not in hats and legs; nor are ſuch cuſtoms yet in uſe amongſt ſoldiers, being effeminate, and unworthy of maſculine gravity.

§. XIII. In the next place, honour is uſed for preferment to truſt and eminent employments. So the Pſalmiſt, ſpeaking to God; 'For thou haſt crowned him 'with glory and honour:'[q] again, 'Honour and ma-'jeſty haſt thou laid on him:'[r] that is, God had given Chriſt power over all his enemies, and exalted him to great dominion. Thus the wiſe man intimates, when he ſays, 'The fear of the Lord is the inſtruction of 'wiſdom, and before honour is humility.'[s] That is, before advancement or preferment, is humility. Farther, he has this ſaying, 'As ſnow in ſummer, and as 'rain in harveſt, ſo honour is not ſeemly for a fool:'[t] that is, a fool is not capable of the dignity of truſt, employment,

[o] John v 23 [p] Luke vii 8 [q] Pſal. viii 5 [r] Pſal. xxi 5
[s] Prov. xv 33 [t] Prov. xxvi 1.

ployment, or preferment; they require virtue, wiſdom, integrity, diligence, of which fools are unfurniſhed. And yet, if the reſpects and titles, in uſe amongſt us, are to go for marks of honour, Solomon's proverb will take place, and doubtleſs doth, upon the practice of this age, that yields ſo much of that honour to a great many of Solomon's fools: who are not only ſilly men, but wicked too; ſuch as refuſe inſtruction, and hate the fear of the Lord:[u] which only maketh one of his wiſe men.

§. XIV. And as virtue and wiſdom are the ſame, ſo folly and wickedneſs. Thus Sechem's raviſhment of Dinah, Jacob's daughter,[w] is called: ſo is the rebellion and wickedneſs of the Iſraelites in Joſhua.[x] The Pſalmiſt expreſſes it thus: 'My wounds ſtink becauſe of my 'fooliſhneſs;'[y] that is, his ſin. And, 'The Lord will 'ſpeak peace to his ſaints, that they turn not again to 'folly;'[z] that is, to evil. 'His own iniquities (ſays So-'lomon) ſhall take the wicked himſelf, and he ſhall be 'holden with the cords of his ſins: he ſhall die without 'inſtruction, and in the greatneſs of his folly he ſhall 'go aſtray.'[a] Chriſt puts fooliſhneſs with blaſphemy, pride, theſts, murders, adulteries, wickedneſs,[b] &c. I was the more willing to add theſe paſſages to ſhew the difference that there is between the mind of the Holy Ghoſt, and the notion that thoſe ages had of fools, that deſerve not honour, and that which is generally meant by fools and folly in our time; that we may the better underſtand the diſproportion there is between honour, as then underſtood by the Holy Ghoſt, and thoſe that were led thereby; and the apprehenſion of it, and practice of theſe latter ages of profeſſed Chriſtians.

§. XV. But honour is alſo taken for reputation, and ſo it is underſtood with us: 'A gracious woman (ſays 'Solomon) retaineth honour;[c] that is, ſhe keeps her credit; and, by her virtue, maintains her reputation of ſobriety

[u] Prov. xiii 18
[w] Gen. xxxiv 7
[x] Joſh. vii 14 15
[y] Pſal. xxxviii 5
[z] Pſal. lxxxv 8
[a] Prov. v 22 23
[b] Mark vii 21
[c] Prov. xi 16

sobriety and chastity. In another place, 'It is an ho-'nour for a man to cease from strife,'[d] that is, it makes for his reputation, as a wise and good man. Christ uses the word thus, where he says, 'A prophet is not with-'out honour, save in his own country:'[e] that is, he has credit, and is valued, save at home. The apostle to the Thessalonians has a saying to that effect: 'That every 'one of you should know how to possess his vessel in 'sanctification and honour;'[f] that is, in chastity and sobriety. In all which, nothing of the fashions by us declined is otherwise concerned, than to be totally excluded.

§. XVI. There is yet another use of the word [honour] in scripture, and that is to functions and capacities: as 'an elder is worthy of double honour:'[g] that is, he deserves double esteem, love, and respect; being holy, merciful, temperate, peaceable, humble, &c. especially one that 'labours in word and doctrine.'[h] So Paul recommends Epaphroditus to the Philippians: 'Re-'ceive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness, and 'hold such in reputation.' As if he had said, let them be valued and regarded by you in what they say and teach. Which is the truest, and most natural and convincing way of testifying respect to a man of God, as Christ said of his disciples, 'If you love me, you will 'keep my sayings.' Farther, the apostle bids us 'to 'honour widows indeed;' that is, such women as are of chaste lives, and exemplary virtue, are honourable. Marriage is honourable too, with this proviso, that the bed be undefiled:[i] so that the honour of marriage, is the chastity of the married.

§. XVII. The word Honour in the scripture, is also used of superiors to inferiors; which is plain in that of Ahasuerus to Haman: 'What shall be done to the 'man whom the king delighteth to honour?'[k] Why, he mightily advanced him, as Mordecai afterwards. And

[d] Prov. xx 3 [e] Mat. xiii 57 [f] 1 Thes. iv 4 [g] 1 Tim. v 17 [h] Philip ii 29 [i] Heb. xiii 4 [k] Esth. vi 6

And more particularly it is said, 'That the Jews had 'light, and gladness, and joy, and honour:'[l] that is, they escaped the persecution that was like to fall upon them, and, by the means of Esther and Mordecai, they enjoyed, not only peace, but favour and countenance too. In this sense, the apostle Peter advised men, 'to 'honour their wives;' that is, to love, value, cherish, countenance and esteem them for their fidelity and affection to their husbands; for their tenderness and care over their children, and for their diligence and circumspection in their families:[m] there is no ceremonious behaviour, or gaudy titles, requisite to express this honour. Thus God honours holy men: 'Them (says 'the Lord) that honour me, I will honour; and they 'that despise me, shall be lightly esteemed:'[n] that is, I will do good to them, I will love, bless, countenance, and prosper them that honour me, that obey me: but they that despise me, that resist my spirit, and break my law, they shall be lightly esteemed, little set by, or accounted of; they shall not find favour with God, nor righteous men. And so we see it daily among men: if the great visit or concern themselves to aid the poor, we say, that such a great man did me the honour to come and see or help me in my need.

§. XVIII. I shall conclude this with one passage more, and that is a very large, plain, and pertinent one: 'Honour all men, and love the brotherhood:'[o] that is love is above honour, and that is reserved for the brotherhood. But honour, which is esteem and regard, that thou owest to all men; and if all, then thy inferiors. But why, for all men? Because they are the creation of God, and the noblest part of his creation too; they are also thy own kind; be natural, have bowels, and assist them with what thou canst; be ready to perform any real respect, and yield them any good or countenance thou canst.

§. XIX. And

[l] Esth. viii 16 [m] 1 Pet. iii [n] 1 Sam ii 30 [o] 1 Pet. ii 17.

§. XIX. And yet there seems a limitation to this command, honour all men, in that godly passage of David, 'Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall 'dwell in thy holy hill? He in whose eyes a vile per-'son is contemned; but he honoureth them that fear 'the Lord.'[p] Here honour is confined and affixed to godly persons, and dishonour made the duty of the righteous to the wicked, and a mark of their being righteous, that they dishonour, that is, slight or disregard them. To conclude this scripture-inquiry after honour, I shall contract the subject of it under three capacities; superiors, equals, and inferiors: honour to superiors, is obedience; to equals, love; to inferiors, countenance and help: that is honour after God's mind, and the holy people's fashion of old.

§. XX. But how little of all this is to be seen or had in a poor empty hat, bow, cringe, or gaudy fluttering title? Let the truth-speaking witness of God in all mankind judge. For I must not appeal to corrupt, proud, and self-seeking man, of the good or evil of these customs; that, as little as he would render them, are loved and sought by him, and he is out of humour, and angry, if he has them not.

This is our second reason, why we refuse to practise the accustomed ceremonies of honour and respect, because we find no such notion or expression, of honour and respect, recommended to us by the Holy Ghost in the scriptures of truth.

§. XXI. Our third reason, for not using them as testimonies of honour and respect is, because there is no discovery of honour or respect to be made by them: it is rather eluding and equivocating it; cheating people of the honour or respect that is due to them; giving them nothing in the shew of something. There is in them no obedience to superiors; no love to equals; no help or countenance to inferiors.

§. XXII. We are, we declare to the whole world, for true honour and respect: we honour the king, our parents,

[p] Psal. xv 4.

parents, our masters, our magistrates, our landlords, one another, yea all men, after God's way, used by holy men and women of old time: but we refuse these customs, as vain and deceitful; not answering the end they are used for.

§. XXIII. But fourthly, there is yet more to be said: we find that vain, loose, and worldly people, are the great lovers and practisers of them, and most deride our simplicity of behaviour. Now we assuredly know, from the sacred testimonies, that those people cannot give true honour, that live in a dishonourable spirit; they understand it not: but they can give the hat and knee; and that they are very liberal of; nor are any more expert at it. This is to us, a proof, that no true honour can be testified by those customs, which vanity and looseness love and use.

§. XXIV. Next to them, I will add hypocrisy and revenge too. For how little do many care for each other? Nay, what spite, envy, animosity, secret backbiting, and plotting one against another, under the use of these idle respects; till passion, too strong for cunning, break through hypocrisy into open affront and revenge. It cannot be so with the scripture-honour: to obey, or prefer a man, out of spite, is not usually done; and to love, help, serve, and countenance a person, in order to deceive and be revenged of him, is a thing never heard of: these admit of no hypocrisy; nor revenge. Men do not these things to palliate ill-will, which are the testimonies of quite the contrary. It is absurd to imagine it, because impossible to be done.

§. XXV. Our sixth reason is, that honour was from the beginning, but hat-respects and most titles are of late: therefore there was true honour before hats or titles; and consequently true honour stands not in them. And that which ever was the way to express true honour, is the best way still; and this the scripture teaches better than dancing-masters can do.

§. XXVI. Seventhly, if honour consists in such like ceremonies, then will it follow, that they are most capable of shewing honour, who perform it most exactly,

actly, according to the mode or fashion of the times; consequently, that man hath not the measure of true honour, from a just and reasonable principle in himself, but by the means and skill of the fantastic dancing-masters of the times: and for this cause it is we see, that many give much money to have their children learn their honours, falsely so called. And what doth this but totally exclude the poor country people; who, though they plough, sow, till, reap, go to market; and in all things obey their justices, landlords, fathers, and masters, with sincerity and sobriety, rarely use those ceremonies; but if they do, it is so awkwardly and meanly that they are esteemed by a court-critic so ill-favoured, as only fit to make a jest of, and be laughed at: but what sober man will not deem their obedience beyond the other's vanity and hypocrisy? This base notion of honour turns out of doors the true, and sets the false in its place. Let it be farther considered, that the way or fashion of doing it is much more in the design of its performers as well as view of its spectators, than the respect itself. Whence it is commonly said, he is a man of good mein; or, she is a woman of exact behaviour. And what is this behaviour, but fantastic, cramp postures, and cringings, unnatural to their shape, and if it were not fashionable, ridiculous to the view of all people; and therefore to the Eastern countries a proverb.

§. XXVII. But yet eighthly, real honour consists not in a hat, bow, or title, because all these things may be had for money. For which reason, how many dancing-schools, plays, &c. are there in the land, to which youth are generally sent to be educated in these vain fashions? whilst they are ignorant of the honour that is of God, and their minds are allured to visible things that perish; and instead of remembering their Creator, are taken up with toys and fopperies; and sometimes so much worse, as to cost themselves a disinheriting, and their indiscreet parents grief and misery all their days. If parents would honour God in the help of his poor,

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with the ſubſtance they beſtow on ſuch an education, they would find a better account in the end.[q]

§. XXVIII. But laſtly, We cannot eſteem bows, titles, and pulling off of hats, to be real honour, becauſe ſuch like cuſtoms, have been prohibited by God, his Son and ſervants in days paſt. This I ſhall endeavour to ſhew by three or four expreſs authorities.

§. XXIX. My firſt example and authority is taken from the ſtory of Mordecai and Haman; ſo cloſe to this point, that methinks it ſhould at leaſt command ſilence to the objections frequently advanced againſt us. Haman was firſt miniſter of ſtate, and favourite of king Ahaſuerus. The text ſays, 'That the king ſet his ſeat 'above all the princes that were with him; and all the 'king's ſervants bowed, and reverenced Haman; for 'the king had ſo commanded concerning him: but 'Mordecai (it ſeems) bowed not, nor did him reve-'rence.'[r] This, at firſt, made ill for Mordecai: a gallows was prepared for him at Haman's command. But the ſequel of the ſtory ſhews, that Haman proved his own invention, and ended his pride with his life upon it. Well now, ſpeaking as the world ſpeaks, and looking upon Mordecai without the knowledge of the ſucceſs; was not Mordecai a very clown, at leaſt a ſilly, moroſe, and humorous man, to run ſuch a hazard for a trifle? What hurt had it done him to have bowed to, and honoured one the king honoured? did he not deſpiſe the king, in diſregarding Haman? nay, had not the king commanded that reſpect? and are not we to honour and obey the king? One would have thought, he might have bowed for the king's ſake whatever he had in his heart, and yet have come off well enough; for that he bowed not merely to Haman, but to the king's authority; beſides, it was but an innocent ceremony. But it ſeems, Mordecai was too plain and ſtout, and not fine and ſubtil enough to avoid the diſpleaſure of Haman.

Howbeit, he was an excellent man: 'he feared God, 'and wrought righteouſneſs.' And in this very thing

O alſo,

[q] Prov. iii 9 [r] Eſth. iii 1 2

alſo, he pleaſed God, and even the king too at laſt, that had moſt cauſe to be angry with him: for he advanced him to Haman's dignity, and, if it could be, to greater honour. It is true, ſad news firſt came; no leſs than deſtruction to Mordecai, and the whole people of the Jews beſides, for his ſake: but Mordecai's integrity and humiliation, his faſting and ſtrong cries to God prevailed, and the people were ſaved, and poor condemned Mordecai comes, after all, to be exalted above the princes. O this has great doctrine in it, to all thoſe that are in their ſpiritual exerciſes and temptations, whether in this or any other reſpect! They that endure faithful in that which they are convinced God requires of them, though againſt the grain and humour of the world, and themſelves too, they ſhall find a bleſſed recompenſe in the end. My brethren, remember the cup of cold water! 'We ſhall reap, if we faint 'not;' and call to mind, that our captain bowed not to him that told him, 'If thou wilt fall down and wor-'ſhip me, I will give thee all the glory of the world:'[s] ſhall we bow then? O no! let us follow our bleſſed leader.

§. XXX. But before I leave this ſection, it is fit I add, that in conference with a late biſhop (and none of the leaſt eminent) upon this ſubject and inſtance, I remember he ſought to evade it thus: Mordecai (ſays he) did not refuſe to bow, as it was a teſtimony of reſpect to the king's favourite; but he being a figure and type of Chriſt, he refuſed it, becauſe Haman was of the uncircumciſion, and ought to bow to him rather. To which I replied; that allowing Mordecai to be a figure of Chriſt, and the Jews of God's people or church; and that as the Jews were ſaved by Mordecai, ſo the church is ſaved by Chriſt; this makes for me; for then by that reaſon, the ſpiritual circumciſion, or people of Chriſt, are not to receive and bow to the faſhions and cuſtoms of the ſpiritual uncircumciſion, who are the children of the world; of which, ſuch as were condemnable ſo long ago, in the time of the type and figure, can

[s] Mat. iv 8 9.

can by no means be juſtifiably received or practiſed in the time of the anti-type or ſubſtance itſelf. On the contrary, this ſhews expreſsly, we are faithfully to decline ſuch worldly cuſtoms, and not to faſhion ourſelves according to the converſation of earthly-minded people: but be renewed and changed in our ways; and keep cloſe to our Mordecai, who having not bowed, we muſt not bow, that are his people and followers. And whatever be our ſuffering, or reproaches, they will have an end: Mordecai, our captain, that appears for his people, throughout all the provinces, in the king's gate, will deliver us at laſt; and, for his ſake, we ſhall be favoured and loved of the king himſelf too. So powerful is faithful Mordecai at laſt. Therefore let us all look to Jeſus, our Mordecai, the Iſrael indeed; he that has power with God, and would not bow in the hour of temptation, but has mightily prevailed: and therefore is a prince, for ever, and of his government there ſhall never be an end.

§. XXXI. The next ſcripture inſtance I urge againſt theſe cuſtoms, is a paſſage in Job, thus expreſſed: 'Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's perſon; 'neither let me give flattering titles unto man, for I 'know not to give flattering titles: in ſo doing my 'Maker would ſoon take me away.'[t] The queſtion that will ariſe upon the allegation of the ſcripture, is this, viz. What titles are flattering? The anſwer is as obvious, namely, Such as are empty and fictitious, and make him more than he is. As to call a man what he is not, to pleaſe him; or to exalt him beyond his true name, office, or deſert, to gain upon his affection: who, it may be, luſteth to honour and reſpect: ſuch as theſe, Moſt excellent, moſt ſacred, your grace, your lordſhip, moſt dread majeſty, right honourable, right worſhipful, may it pleaſe your majeſty, your grace, your lordſhip, your honour, your worſhip, and the like unneceſſary titles and attributes; calculated only to pleaſe and tickle poor, proud, vain, yet mortal man. Likewiſe to call man what he is not, as my lord, my maſter, &c.

[t] Job xxxii 21 22.

&c. and wife, juſt, or good (when he is neither) only to pleaſe him, or ſhew him reſpect.

It was familiar thus to do among the Jews, under their degeneracy: wherefore one came to Chriſt, and ſaid; 'Good maſter, what ſhall I do to have eternal life?'[u] It was a ſalutation or addreſs of reſpect in thoſe times. It is familiar now: good my lord, good ſir, good maſter, do this, or do that. But what was Chriſt's anſwer! how did he take it? 'Why calleſt thou me good?' ſays Chriſt, 'there is none good ſave one, that is God.' He rejected it, that had more right to keep it than all mankind: and why? becauſe there was no one greater than he: and that he ſaw the man addreſſed it to his manhood, after the way of the times, and not his divinity which dwelt within it; therefore Chriſt refuſes it, ſhewing and inſtructing us that we ſhould not give ſuch epithets and titles commonly to men; for good being due alone to God and godlineſs, it can only be ſaid in flattery to fallen man, and therefore ſinful to be ſo ſaid.

This plain and exact life well became him that was on purpoſe manifeſted to return and reſtore man from his lamentable degeneracy, to the innocency and purity of his firſt creation, who has taught us to be careful, how we uſe and give attributes unto man, by that moſt ſevere ſaying, 'That every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, 'they ſhall give an account thereof in the day of judg-'ment.'[w] And that which ſhould warn all men of the latitude they take therein, and ſufficiently juſtify our tenderneſs, is this, that man can ſcarcely commit greater injury and offence againſt Almighty God, than to aſcribe any of his attributes unto man, the creature of his word, and the work of his hands. He is a jealous God of his honour, and will not give his glory unto another. Beſides, it is ſo near the ſin of the aſpiring, fallen angels, that affected to be greater and better than they were made and ſtated by the great Lord of all: and to entitle man to a ſtation above his make and orb looks ſo like idolatry (the unpardonable ſin under the law) that it is hard to think, how men and women profeſſing Chriſtianity,

[u] Luke xvii 13 19 [w] Mat. xii 36.

Chriſtianity, and ſeriouſly reflecting upon their vanity and evil in theſe things, can continue in them, much leſs plead for them, and leaſt of all reproach and deride thoſe that through tenderneſs of conſcience cannot uſe and give them. It ſeems that Elihu did not dare to do it; but put ſuch weight upon the matter, as to give this for one reaſon of his forbearance, to wit, 'Leſt my 'Maker ſhould ſoon take me away:' that is, for fear God ſhould ſtrike me dead, I dare not give man titles, that are above him, or titles merely to pleaſe him. I may not, by any means, gratify that ſpirit which luſteth after ſuch things. God is to be exalted, and man abaſed. God is jealous of man's being ſet higher than his ſtation: he will have him keep his place, know his original, and remember the rock from whence he came: and what he has is borrowed, not his own, but his Maker's, who brought him forth and ſuſtained him; which man is very apt to forget. And leſt I ſhould be acceſſary to it by flattering titles, inſtead of telling him truly and plainly what he is, and uſing him as he ought to be treated, and thereby provoke my Maker to diſpleaſure, and he in his anger and jealouſy ſhould take me ſoon away, or bring ſudden death, and an untimely end upon me, I dare not uſe, I dare not give ſuch titles unto men.

§. XXXII. But if we had not this to alledge from the old-teſtament-writings, it ſhould and ought to ſuffice with Chriſtians, that theſe cuſtoms are ſeverely cenſured by the great Lord and Maſter of all their religion; who is ſo far from putting people upon giving honour one to another, that he will not indulge them in it, whatever be the cuſtoms of the country they live in: for he charges it upon the Jews, as a mark of their apoſtacy: 'How can ye believe, which receive honour one 'of another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh 'from God only?' Where their infidelity concerning Chriſt is made the effect of ſeeking worldly, and not heavenly honour only. And the thing is not hard to apprehend, if we conſider, that ſelf-love, and deſire of honour from men, is inconſiſtent with the love and humility

mility of Christ. They sought the good opinion and respect of the world: how then was it possible they should leave all and follow him, whose kingdom is not of this world; and that came in a way so cross to the mind and humour of it? and that this was the meaning of our Lord Jesus, is plain: for he tells us what that honour was, they gave and received, which he condemns them for, and of which he bid the disciples of his humility and cross beware. His words are these (and he speaks them not of the rabble, but of the doctors, the great men, the men of honour among the Jews) 'They love (says he) 'the uppermost rooms at feasts;'[x] that is, places of greatest rank and respect: 'and greetings,' that is, salutations of respect, such as pulling off the hat, and bowing the body, are in our age; 'in the market-places,'[y] viz. in the places of note and concourse, the public walks and exchanges of the country. And lastly, 'They love '(says Christ) to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi:' one of the most eminent titles among the Jews. A word comprehending an excellency equal to many titles: it may stand for your grace, your lordship, right reverend father, &c. It is upon these men of breeding and quality, that he pronounces his woes, making these practices some of the evil marks, by which to know them, as well as some of the motives of his threatenings against them. But he leaves it not here, he pursues this very point of honour, above all the rest, in his caution to his disciples; to whom he gave in charge thus: 'But be not ye 'called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and 'all ye are brethren. Neither be ye called master: but 'he that is greatest among you shall be your servant, 'and whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased.' Plain it is, that these passages carry a severe rebuke, both to worldly honour in general, and to those members and expressions of it in particular, which, as near as the language of scripture and customs of that age will permit, do distinctly reach and allude to those of our own

[x] Mat. xxiii 6 [y] Mark xii 38 Luke xi 43.

own time; for the declining of which we have suffered so much scorn and abuse, both in our persons and estates; God forgive the unreasonable authors of it!

§. XXXIII. The apostle Paul has a saying of great weight and fervency, in his epistle to the Romans, very agreeable to this doctrine of Christ; it is this: 'I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, 'that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service; 'and be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may 'prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect 'will of God.'[z] He wrote to a people in the midst of the ensnaring pomp and glory of the world; Rome was the seat of Cæsar, and the empire: the mistress of invention. Her fashions, as those of France now, were as laws to the world, at least at Rome: whence it is proverbial;

Cum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito more.
When thou art at Rome, thou must do as Rome does.

But the apostle is of another mind: he warns the Christians of that city, 'that they be not conformed;' that is, that they do not follow the vain fashions and customs of this world, but leave them: the emphasis lies upon This, as well as upon Conformed: and it imports, that this world, which they were not to conform to, was the corrupt and degenerate condition of mankind in that age. Wherefore the apostle proceeds to exhort those believers, and that by the mercies of God (the most powerful and winning of all arguments) 'that they 'would be transformed;' that is, changed from the way of life customary among the Romans; 'and prove what 'is that acceptable will of God.' As if he had said, examine what you do and practise; see if it be right, and that it please God: call every thought, word, and action to judgment; try whether they are wrought in God or

[z] Rom. xii 1 2.

or not; that so you may prove or know what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God.[a]

§. XXXIV. The next scripture-authority we appeal to, in our vindication, is a passage of the apostle Peter, in his first epistle, writ to the believing strangers throughout the countries of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia; which were the churches of Christ Jesus in those parts of the world, gathered up by his power and spirit; it is this, 'Gird up the loins 'of your mind; be sober, and hope to the end, for 'the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ; as obedient children, not 'fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts of 'your ignorance.'[b] That is, be not found in the vain fashions and customs of the world, unto which you conformed in your former ignorance: but as ye have believed in a more plain and excellent way, so be sober and fervent, and hope to the end: do not give out; let them mock on: bear ye the contradiction of sinners constantly, as obedient children, that you may receive the kindness of God, at the revelation of Jesus Christ. And therefore does the apostle call them 'strangers '(a figurative speech) people estranged from the cus-'toms of the world, of new faith and manners; and so 'unknown of the world:' and if such strangers, then not to be fashioned or conformed to their pleasing respects and honours, whom they were estranged from; because the strangeness lay in leaving that which was customary and familiar to them before. The following words (ver. 17.) proved he used the word strangers in a spiritual sense; 'Pass the time of your sojourning 'here in fear;' that is, pass the time of your being here as strangers on earth in fear; not after the fashions of the world. A word in the next chapter further explains this sense, where he tells the believers, that they are a peculiar people;' to wit, a distinct, a singular and separate people from the rest of the world: not any longer to fashion themselves according to their customs

[a] John iii 21 22 [b] 1 Pet. i 13 14.

cuſtoms: but I do not know how that could be, if they were to live in communion with the world, in its reſpects and honours; for that is not to be a peculiar or ſeparate people from them, but to be like them, becauſe conformable to them.

§. XXXV. I ſhall conclude my ſcripture-teſtimonies againſt the foregoing reſpects, with that memorable and cloſe paſſage of the apoſtle James, againſt reſpect to perſons in general, after the world's faſhion: 'My 'brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'the Lord of glory, with reſpect of perſons; for if 'there come unto your aſſembly, a man with a gold 'ring, in goodly apparel: and there come in alſo a 'poor man, in vile raiment, and ye have reſpect to him 'that weareth the gay cloathing, and ſay unto him, 'ſit thou here in a goodly place (or well and ſeemly, 'as the word is) and ſay to the poor, ſtand thou there, 'or ſit here under my footſtool; are ye not then par-'tial in yourſelves, and are become judges of evil 'thoughts[c] [that is, they knew they did amiſs]? If 'ye fulfil the royal law, according to the ſcripture, 'Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf, ye do well: 'but if ye have reſpect to perſons, ye commit ſin, and 'are convinced of the law as tranſgreſſors.'[d] This is ſo full, there ſeems nothing left for me to add, or others to object. We are not to reſpect perſons, that is the firſt thing: and the next is, if we do, we commit ſin, and break the law: at our own peril be it. And yet, perhaps, ſome will ſay, that by this we overthrow all manner of diſtinction among men, under their divers qualities, and introduce a reciprocal and relational reſpect in the room of it: but if it be ſo, I cannot help it, the apoſtle James muſt anſwer for it, who has given us this doctrine for Chriſtian and Apoſtolical. And yet one greater than he told his diſciples, of whom James was one, viz. 'Ye know that the prin-'ces of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion over them, &c. 'But it ſhall not be ſo among you; but whoſoever will

[c] James ii 1 2 3 4 [d] James ii 8.

'be great among you, let him be your minister: and 'whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your 'servant:'[c] that is, he that affects rule, and seeks to be uppermost, shall be esteemed least among you. And to say true, upon the whole matter, whether we regard those early times of the world, that were antecedent to the coming of Christ, or soon after, there was yet a greater simplicity, than in the times in which we are fallen. For those early times of the world, as bad as they were in other things, were great strangers to the frequency of these follies; nay, they hardly used some of them, at least very rarely. For if we read the scriptures, such a thing as my lord Adam (though lord of the world) is not to be found; nor my lord Noah neither, the second lord of the earth; nor yet my lord Abraham, the father of the faithful; nor my lord Isaac; nor my lord Jacob; but much less my lord Peter, and my lord Paul, to be found in the bible: and less your holiness, or your grace. Nay, among the Gentiles, the people wore their own names with more simplicity, and used not the ceremoniousness of speech that is now practised among Christians, nor yet any thing like it. My lord Solon, my lord Phocion, my lord Plato, my lord Aristotle, my lord Scipio, my lord Fabius, my lord Cato, my lord Cicero, are not to be read in any of the Greek or Latin stories, and yet they were some of the sages and heroes of those great empires. No, their own names were enough to distinguish them from other men, and their virtue and employment in the public were their titles of honour. Nor has this vanity yet crept far into the Latin writers, where it is familiar for authors to cite the most learned, and the most noble, without any addition to their names, unless worthy or learned: and if their works give it them, we make conscience to deny it them. For instance; the fathers they only cite thus; Polycarpus, Ignatius, Irenæus, Cyprian, Tertullian, Origen, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, Jerom, &c.

[c] Mat. xx 25 26 27.

&c. More modern writers; Damascen, Rabanus, Paschasius, Theophylact, Bernard, &c. And of the last age; Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Zuinglius, Marlorat, Vossius, Grotius, Dalleus, Amaraldus, &c. And of our own country: Gildas, Beda, Alcuinus, Horn, Bracton, Grosteed, Littleton, Cranmer, Ridley, Jewel, Whitaker, Selden, &c. And yet, I presume, this will not be thought uncivil or rude. Why then is our simplicity (and so honestly grounded too, as conscience against pride in man, that so eagerly and perniciously loves and seeks worship and greatness) so much despised and abused, and that by professed Christians too, who take themselves to be the followers of him, that has forbid these foolish customs, as plainly as any other impiety condemned in his doctrine? I earnestly beg the lovers, users, and expecters of these ceremonies, to let this I have writ have some consideration and weight with them.

§. XXXVI. However, Christians are not so ill bred as the world thinks: for they shew respect too: But the difference between them lies in the nature of the respect they perform, and the reasons of it. The world's respect is an empty ceremony, no soul or substance in it: the Christian's is a solid thing, whether by obedience to superiors, love to equals, or help and countenance to inferiors. Next, their reasons and motives to honour and respect, are as wide one from the other: for fine apparel, empty titles, or large revenues, are the world's motives, being things her children worship: but the Christian's motive is, the sense of his duty in God's sight; first, to parents and magistrates; and then to inferior relations; and lastly, to all people, according to their virtue, wisdom, and piety: which is far from respect to the mere persons of men, or having their persons in admiration for reward: much less on such mean and base motives as wealth and sumptuous raiment.

§. XXXVII. We shall easily grant, our honour, as our religion, is more hidden; and that neither is so discernible by worldly men, nor grateful to them. Our plainness is odd, uncouth, and goes mightily against

againſt the grain ; but ſo does Chriſtianity too, and that for the ſame reaſons. But had not the heathen ſpirit prevailed too long under a Chriſtian profeſſion, it would not be ſo hard to diſcern the right from the wrong. O that Chriſtians would look upon themſelves, with the glaſs of righteouſneſs, that which tells true, and gives them an exact knowledge of themſelves! and then let them examine, what in them, and about them, agrees with Chriſt's doctrine and life : and they may ſoon reſolve, whether they are real Chriſtians, or but Heathens chriſtened with the name of Chriſtians.

Some teſtimonies from ancient and modern writers in favour of our behaviour.

§. XXXVIII. Marlorat out of Luther, and Calvin, upon that remarkable paſſage I juſt now urged from the apoſtle James, gives us the ſenſe thoſe primitive reformers had of reſpect to perſons, in theſe words, viz. " To reſpect perſons (here) is to have regard to the habit and garb : the apoſtle ſignifies that ſuch reſpecting perſons are ſo contrary to true faith, that they are altogether inconſiſtent ; but if the pomp, and other worldly regards, prevail, and weaken what is of Chriſt, it is a ſign of a decaying faith ; yea, ſo great is the glory and ſplendor of Chriſt in a pious ſoul, that all the glories of the world have no charms, no beauty, in compariſon of that, unto one ſo righteouſly inclined : the apoſtle maketh ſuch reſpecting of perſons, to be repugnant to the light (within them) inſomuch, as they, who follow thoſe practices, are condemned from within themſelves. So that ſanctity ought to be the reaſon, or motive, of all outward reſpects ; and that none is to be honoured, upon any account but holineſs :" thus much Marlorat. But if this be true doctrine, we are much in the right in refuſing conformity to the vain reſpects of worldly men.

§. XXXIX. But I ſhall add to theſe the admonition of a learned ancient writer, who lived about 1200 years ſince,

ſince, of great eſteem, namely, Jerom, who, writing to a noble matron, Celantia, directing her how to live in the midſt of her proſperity and honours, amongſt many other religious inſtructions, ſpeaks thus: "Heed not thy nobility, nor let that be a reaſon for thee to take place of any; eſteem not thoſe of a meaner extraction to be thy inferiors; for our religion admits of no reſpect of perſons, nor doth it induce us to repute men from any external condition, but from their inward frame and diſpoſition of mind: it is hereby that we pronounce men noble or baſe. With God, not to ſerve ſin, is to be free; and to excel in virtue is to be noble; God has choſen the mean and contemptible of this world, whereby to humble the great ones. Beſides, it is a folly for any to boaſt his gentility, ſince all are equally eſteemed by God. The ranſom of the poor and rich coſt Chriſt an equal expenſe of blood. Nor is it material in what ſtate a man is born; the new creature hath no diſtinction. But if we will forget, how we all deſcended from one Father, we ought at leaſt perpetually to remember, that we have but one Saviour."

§. XL. But ſince I am engaged againſt theſe fond and fruitleſs cuſtoms (the proper effects and delights of vain and proud minds) let me yet add one memorable paſſage more, as it is related by the famous Cauſabon, in this Diſcourſe of Uſe and Cuſtom; where he briefly reports what paſſed between Sulpitius Severus, and Paulinus, biſhop of Nola (but ſuch an one as gave all to redeem captives, whilſt others of that function, that they may ſhew who is their maſter, are making many both beggars and captives, by countenancing the plunder and impriſonment of Chriſtians, for pure conſcience to God) he brings it in thus: "He is not counted a civil man now, of late years amongſt us, who thinks it much, or refuſeth, to ſubſcribe himſelf ſervant, though it be to his equal or inferior. Yet Sulpitius Severus was once ſharply chid by Paulinus, for ſubſcribing himſelf his ſervant, in a letter of his; ſaying, Take heed hereafter, how thou, being from a ſervant called into liberty,

liberty, doſt ſubſcribe thyſelf ſervant unto one who is thy brother and fellow-ſervant; for it is a ſinful flattery, not a teſtimony of humility, to pay thoſe honours to a man, and a ſinner, which are due to the one Lord, and one maſter, and one God." This biſhop was (as it ſeems) of Chriſt's mind, 'Why calleſt thou me good? there is none 'good but one.' By this we may ſee the ſenſe of ſome of the more apoſtolical biſhops about the civilities and faſhions, ſo much reputed with people that call themſelves Chriſtians and Biſhops, and who would be thought their ſucceſſors. It was then a ſin, it is now an accompliſhment: it was then a flattery, it is now reſpect; it was then fit to be ſeverely reproved; and now, alas! it is to deſerve ſevere reproof not to uſe it. O monſtrous vanity! how much, how deeply, have thoſe who are called Chriſtians revolted from the plainneſs of the primitive days, and practice of holy men and women in former ages! How are they become degenerated into the looſe, proud, and wanton cuſtoms of the world, which knows not God; to whom uſe hath made theſe things, condemned by ſcripture, reaſon and example, almoſt natural! And ſo inſenſible are they of both their cauſe and bad effects, that they not only continue to practiſe them, but plead for them, and unchriſtianly make a very mock of thoſe who cannot imitate them. But I ſhall proceed to what remains yet farther to be ſaid in our defence for declining another cuſtom, which helps to make us ſo much the ſtumbling-block of this light, vain, and inconſiderate age.

CHAP. X.

§. 1. Another piece of non-conformity to the world, which is our ſimple and plain ſpeech, Thou for You. §. 2. Juſtified from the uſe of words and numbers, ſingular and plural. §. 3. It was, and is, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin ſpeech, in ſchools and univerſities. §. 4. It is the language of all nations. §. 5. The original

original of the preſent cuſtom defends our diſuſe of it. §. 6. If cuſtom ſhould prevail, in a ſenſe it would be on our ſide. §. 7. It cannot be uncivil, or improper; for God himſelf, the fathers, prophets, Chriſt and his apoſtles uſed it. §. 8. An inſtance given in the caſe of Peter, in the palace of the high prieſt. §. 9. It is the practice of men to God in their prayers: the pride of man to expect better to himſelf. §. 10. Teſtimonies of ſeveral writers in vindication of us. §. 11. The author's convictions, and his exhortation to his reader.

§. I. THERE is another piece of our non-conformity to the world, that renders us very clowniſh to the breeding of it, and that is, Thou for You, and that without difference or reſpect to perſons: a thing that to ſome looks ſo rude, it cannot well go down without deriſion or wrath. But as we have the ſame original reaſon for declining this, as the foregoing cuſtoms, ſo I ſhall add what to me looks reaſonable in our defence; though, it is very probable, height of mind, in ſome of thoſe that blame us, will very hardly allow them to believe that the word reaſonable is reconcileable with ſo ſilly a practice as this is eſteemed.

§. II. Words, of themſelves, are but as ſo many marks ſet and employed for neceſſary and intelligible mediums, or means, whereby men may underſtandingly expreſs their minds and conceptions to each other; from whence comes converſation. Now, though the world be divided into many nations, each of which, for the moſt part has a peculiar language, ſpeech, or dialect, yet have they ever concurred in the ſame numbers and perſons, as much of the ground of right ſpeech. For inſtance; I love, Thou loveſt, He loveth, are of the ſingular number, importing but One, whether in the firſt, ſecond, or third perſon: alſo, We love, Ye love, They love, are of the plural number, becauſe in each is implied More than One. Which undeniable grammatical rule might be enough to ſatisfy any, that have not forgot their Accidence, that we are not beſide

Reaſon

Reaſon in our practice. For if Thou loveſt, be ſingular, and You love, be plural, and if Thou loveſt, ſignifies but One; and You love, Many; is it not as proper to ſay, Thou loveſt, to Ten men, as to ſay, You love, to One man? Or, why not I love, for We love, and We love, inſtead of I love? Doubtleſs it is the ſame, though moſt improper, and in ſpeech ridiculous.

§. III. Our next reaſon is; if it be improper or uncivil ſpeech (as termed by this vain age) how comes it, that the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman authors, uſed in ſchools and univerſities, have no other? Why ſhould they not be a rule in that, as well as other things? And why, I pray then, are we ſo ridiculous for being thus far grammatical? Is it reaſonable that children ſhould be whipt at ſchool for putting You for Thou, as having made falſe Latin; and yet that we muſt be, though not whipt, reproached, and often abuſed, when we uſe the contrary propriety of ſpeech?

§. IV. But in the third place, it is neither improper nor uncivil, but much otherwiſe; becauſe it is uſed in all languages, ſpeeches, and dialects, and that through all ages. This is very plain: as for example, it was God's language when he firſt ſpake to Adam. viz. Hebrew: alſo it is the Aſſyrian, Chaldean, Grecian, and Latin ſpeech. And now amongſt the Turks, Tartars, Muſcovites, Indians, Perſians, Italians, Spaniards, French, Dutch, Germans, Polonians, Swedes, Danes, Iriſh, Scottiſh, Welch, as well as Engliſh, there is a diſtinction preſerved; and the word Thou, is not loſt in the word which goes for You. And though ſome of the modern tongues have done as we do, yet upon the ſame error. But by this it is plain, that Thou is no upſtart, nor yet improper; but the only proper word to be uſed in all languages to a ſingle perſon; becauſe otherwiſe all ſentences, ſpeeches, and diſcourſes may be very ambiguous, uncertain, and equivocal. If a jury pronounce a verdict, or a judge a ſentence (Three being at the bar upon three occaſions, very differently culpable) and ſhould ſay, You are here guilty, and to die: or innocent, and diſcharged; who knows who is guilty

guilty or innocent? May be but One, perhaps Two; or it may be all Three. Therefore our indictments run in the singular number, as Hold up thy hand: Thou art indicted by the name of, &c. for that Thou, 'not having the fear of God, &c.' and it holds the same in all conversation. Nor can this be avoided, but by many unnecessary circumlocutions. And as the preventing of such length and obscurity was doubtless the first reason for the distinction, so cannot that be justly disused, till the reason be first removed; which can never be, whilst Two are in the world.

§. V. But this is not all: it was first ascribed in way of flattery to proud popes and emperors; imitating the Heathens vain homage to their gods; thereby ascribing a plural honour to a single person; as if One Pope had been made up of Many Gods, and One Emperor of many Men. For which reason, You only to be used to Many, became first spoken to One. It seems the word Thou looked like too lean and thin a respect; and therefore some, bigger than they should be, would have a style suitable to their own ambition: a ground we cannot build our practice on; for what begun it, only loves it still. But supposing You to be proper to a prince, it will not follow it is to a common person. For his edict runs, "We will and require," because perhaps in conjunction with his council; and therefore You to a private person, is an abuse of the word. But as pride first gave it birth, so hath she only promoted it. * Monsieur, sir, and madam, were, originally, names given to none but the king, his brother, and their wives, both in France and England; yet now the plowman in France is called Monsieur, and his wife madam: and men of ordinary trades in England, sir, and their wives, dame; (which is the legal title of a lady) or else mistress, which is the same with madam in French. So prevalent hath pride and flattery been in all ages, the one to give, and the other to receive respect, as they term it.

* Howel's History of France.

§. VI. But ſome will tell us, cuſtom ſhould rule us; and that is againſt us. But it is eaſily anſwered, and more truly, that though in things reaſonable or indifferent, cuſtom is obliging or harmleſs, yet in things unreaſonable or unlawful, ſhe has no authority. For cuſtom can no more change numbers than genders, nor yoke One and You together, than make a man into a woman or one a thouſand. But if cuſtom be to conclude us, it is for us: for as cuſtom is nothing elſe but ancient uſage, I appeal to the practice of mankind, from the beginning of the world, through all nations, againſt the novelty of this confuſion, viz. You to one perſon. Let cuſtom, which is ancient practice and fact, iſſue this queſtion. Miſtake me not: I know words are nothing, but as men give them a value or force by uſe: but then, if you will diſcharge Thou, and that You muſt ſucceed in its place, let us have a diſtinguiſhing word in the room of You, to be uſed in ſpeech to Many. But to uſe the ſame word for One and Many, when there are two, and that only to pleaſe a proud and haughty humour in man, is not reaſonable in our ſenſe; which, we hope, is Chriſtian, though not modiſh.

§. VII. But if thou to a ſingle perſon be improper or uncivil, God himſelf, all the holy fathers and prophets, Chriſt Jeſus and his apoſtles, the primitive ſaints, all languages throughout the world, and our own law-proceedings are guilty; which, with ſubmiſſion, were great preſumption to imagine. Beſides we all know it is familiar with the moſt of authors, to preface their diſcourſes to the reader in the ſame language of Thee and Thou: as, Reader, Thou art deſired, &c. or, Reader this is writ to inform Thee, of the occaſion, &c. And it cannot be denied, that the moſt famous poems, dedicated to love or majeſty, are writ in this ſtyle. Read of each in Chaucer, Spencer, Waller, Cowley, Dryden, &c. why then ſhould it be ſo homely, ill-bred, and inſufferable in us? This, I conceive, can never be anſwered.

§. VIII. I doubt not at all, but that ſomething altogether as ſingular attended the ſpeech of Chriſt and his

his disciples: for I remember it was urged upon Peter in the high priest's palace, as a proof of his belonging to Jesus, when he denied his Lord: 'Surely (said they) 'Thou also art one of them; for thy speech bewrayeth 'Thee:'[f] they had guessed by his looks, but just before, that he had been with Jesus; but when they discoursed him, his language put them all out of doubt: surely then he was one of them, and he had been with Jesus. Something it was he had learned in his company, that was odd and observable; to be sure, not of the world's behaviour. Without question, the garb, gait, and speech of his followers differed, as well as his doctrine, from the world; for it was a part of his doctrine it should be so. It is easy to believe, they were more plain, grave, and precise; which is more credible, from the way which poor, confident, fearful Peter took, to disguise the business; for he fell to cursing and swearing. A sad shift! but he thought that the likeliest way to remove the suspicion, that was most unlike Christ. And the policy took: for it silenced their objections; and Peter was as orthodox as they. But though they found him not out, the cock's-crow did; which made Peter remember his dear suffering Lord's word, and 'he went forth and wept bitterly:' that he had denied his Master, who was then delivered up to die for him.

§. IX. But our last reason is of most weight with me; and, because *argumentum ad hominem*, it is most heavy upon our despisers; which is this: It should not therefore be urged upon us, because it is a most extravagant piece of pride in a mortal man, to require or expect from his fellow-creature a more civil speech, or grateful language, than he is wont to give the immortal God, and his Creator, in all his worship to him. Art thou, O man, greater than he that made thee? Canst thou approach the God of thy breath, and great judge of thy life, with Thou and Thee, and when thou risest off thy knees, scorn a Christian for giving to thee (poor mushroom

[f] Mat. xxvi 71 73 74.

mushroom of the earth) no better language than thou hast given to God but just before? An arrogancy not to be easily equalled! But again, it is either too much or too little respect; if too much, do not reproach and be angry, but gravely and humbly refuse it; if too little, why dost thou shew to God no more? O whither is man gone! to what a pitch does he soar? he would be used more civilly by us, than he uses God; which is to have us make more than a God of him: but he shall want worshippers of us, as well as he wants the divinity in himself that deserves to be worshipped. Certain we are, that the Spirit of God seeks not these respects, much less pleads for them, or would be wroth with any that conscientiously refuse to give them. But that this vain generation is guilty of using them, to gratify a vain mind, is too palpable. What capping, what cringing, what scraping, what vain unmeant words, most hyperbolical expressions, compliments, gross flatteries, and plain lies, under the name of civilities, are men and women guilty of in conversation! Ah, my friends! whence fetch you these examples? What part of all the writings of the holy men of God warrants these things? But to come near to your own professions: Is Christ your example herein, whose name you pretend to bear? or those saints of old, that lived in desolate places, of whom the world was not worthy?[g] Or do you think you follow the practice of those Christians, that, in obedience to their Master's life and doctrine, forsook the respect of persons, and relinquished the fashions, honour and glory of this transitory world: whose qualifications lay not in external gestures, respects, and compliments, but in a meek and quiet spirit,[h] adorned with temperance, virtue, modesty, gravity, patience, and brotherly-kindness, which were the tokens of true honour, and only badges of respect and nobility in those Christian times? O no! But is it not to expose ourselves both to your contempt and fury, that we imitate them, and not you? And tell us, pray, are not romances,

[g] Heb. xi [h] 1 Pet. iii 3 4.

romances, plays, masks, gaming, fiddlers, &c. the entertainments that most delight you? Had you the spirit of Christianity indeed, could you consume your most precious little time in so many unnecessary visits, games, and pastimes; in your vain compliments, courtships, feigned stories, flatteries, and fruitless novelties, and what not? invented and used to your diversion, to make you easy in your forgetfulness of God; which never was the Christian way of living, but entertainment of the Heathens that knew not God. O were you truly touched with a sense of your sins, and in any measure born again; did you take up the cross of Jesus, and live under it, these things (which so much please your wanton and sensual nature) would find no place with you! This is not seeking the things that are above,[1] to have the heart thus set on things that are below; nor, 'working out your own salvation with fear 'and trembling,' to spend your days in vanity. This is not crying with Elihu, 'I know not to give flattering 'titles to men; for in so doing my Maker would soon 'take me away:' this is not to deny self, and lay up a more hidden and enduring substance, an eternal inheritance in the heavens, that will not pass away. Well, my friends, whatever you think, your plea of custom will find no place at God's tribunal: the light of Christ in your own hearts will over-rule it, and this Spirit against which we testify, shall then appear to be what we say it is. Say not, I am serious about slight things: but beware you of levity and rashness in serious things.

§. X. Before I close, I shall add a few testimonies from men of general credit, in favour of our non-conformity to the world in this particular.

Luther, the great reformer (whose sayings were oracles with the age he lived in, and of no less reputation now, with many that object against us) was so far from condemning our plain speech, that, in his *Ludus*, he sports himself with You to a single person, as an incongruous and ridiculous speech, viz. *Magister, vos estis iratus?*

[1] Col. iii 1

iratus? Master are you angry? as absurd with him in Latin, as, My Masters, art thou angry? is in English. Erasmus, a learned man, and an exact critic in speech (than whom, I know not any we may so properly refer the grammar of the matter to) not only derides it, but bestows a whole discourse upon rendering it absurd: plainly manifesting, that it is impossible to preserve numbers, if You, the only word for more than One, be used to express One; as also, that the original of this corruption, was the corruption of flattery. Lipsius affirms of the ancient Romans, that the manner of greeting now in vogue, was not in use amongst them. To conclude; Howel, in his History of France, gives us an ingenious account of its original; where he not only assures us, That anciently the peasants Thou'd their kings, but that pride and flattery first put inferiors upon paying a plural respect to the single person of every superior, and superiors upon receiving it. And though we had not the practice of God and man so undeniably to justify our plain and homely speech, yet since we are persuaded that its original was from pride and flattery, we cannot in conscience use it. And however we may be censured as singular, by those loose and airy minds, that, through the continual love of earthly pleasures, consider not the true rise and tendency of words and things, yet, to us, whom God has convinced, by his Light and Spirit in our hearts, of the folly and evil of such courses, and brought into a spiritual discerning of the nature and ground of the world's fashions, they appear to be fruits of pride and flattery, and we dare not continue in such vain compliances to earthly minds, lest we offend God, and burden our own consciences. But having been sincerely affected with the reproofs of instruction, and our hearts being brought into a watchful subjection to the righteous law of Jesus, so as to bring our deeds to the light, to see in whom they are wrought, if in God, or not; we cannot, we dare not conform ourselves to the fashions of the world that pass away, knowing

[k] John iii 19 20

ing assuredly, that 'for every idle word that men speak, 'they shall give an account in the day of judgment.'[1]

§. XI. Wherefore, reader, whether thou art a night-walking Nicodemus, or a scoffing scribe; one that would visit the blessed Messiah, but in the dark customs of the world, that thou mightest pass as undiscerned, for fear of bearing his reproachful cross; or else a favourer of Haman's pride, and countest these testimonies but a foolish singularity; I must say, divine love enjoins me to be a messenger of truth to thee, and a faithful witness against the evil of this degenerate world, as in other, so in these things; in which the spirit of vanity and lust hath got so great an head, and lived so long uncontrouled, that it hath impudence enough to term its darkness light, and to call its evil off-spring by the names due to a better nature, the more easily to deceive people into the practice of them. And truly, so very blind and insensible are most, of what spirit they are, and ignorant of the meek and self-denying life of holy Jesus, whose name they profess, that to call each other Rabbi, that is, Master; to bow to men (which I call worship) and to greet with flattering titles; and do their fellow-creatures homage: to scorn that language to themselves that they give to God, and to spend their time and estate to gratify their wanton minds; (the customs of the Gentiles that knew not God) pass with them for civility, good breeding, decency, recreation, accomplishments, &c. O that man would consider, since there are but two spirits, one good, the other evil, which of them it is that inclines the world to these things! and whether it be Nicodemus or Mordecai in thee, that doth befriend these despised Christians, which makes thee ashamed to disown that openly in conversation with the world, which the true light hath made vanity and sin to thee in secret? Or, if thou art a despiser, tell me, I pray thee, which dost thou think thy mockery, anger, or contempt do most resemble, proud Haman, or

[1] Mat. xii 36.

or good Mordecai? My friend, know, that no man hath more delighted in, or been prodigal of those vanities called civilities, than myself; and could I have covered my conscience under the fashions of the world, truly I had found a shelter from showers of reproach that have fallen very often and thick upon me; but had I, with Joseph, conformed to Egypt's customs, I had sinned against my God, and lost my peace. But I would not have thee think it is a mere Thou or Title, simply or nakedly in themselves, we boggle at, or that we would beget or set up any form inconsistent with sincerity or true civility: there is but too much of that: but the esteem and value the vain minds of men do put upon them, that ought to be crossed and stripped of their delights, constrains us to testify so steadily against them. And this know, from the sense God's Holy Spirit hath begotten in us, that that which requires these customs, and begets fear to leave them, and pleads for them, and is displeased if not used and paid, is the spirit of pride and flattery in the ground, though frequency, use, or generosity, may have abated its strength in some: and this being discovered by the light that now shines from heaven, in the hearts of the despised Christians I have communion with, necessitates them to this testimony, and myself as one of them, and for them, in a reproof of the unfaithful, who would walk undiscerned, though convinced to the contrary; and for an allay to the proud despisers, who scorn us as a people guilty of affectation and singularity. For the eternal God, who is great amongst us, and on his way in the earth to make his power known, 'will root up every 'plant that his right hand hath not planted.' Wherefore let me beseech thee, reader, to consider the foregoing reasons, which were mostly given me from the Lord, in that time, when my condescension to these fashions would have been purchased at almost any rate; but the certain sense I had of their contrariety to the meek and self-denying life of holy Jesus, required of me my disuse of them, and faithful testimony against them. I speak the truth in Christ; I lie not; I would

would not have brought myſelf under cenſure and diſdain for them, could I, with peace of conſcience, have kept my belief under a worldly behaviour. It was extreme irkſome to me, to decline and expoſe myſelf; but having an aſſured and repeated ſenſe of the original of theſe vain cuſtoms, that they riſe from pride, ſelf-love, and flattery, I dared not gratify that mind in myſelf or others. And for this reaſon it is, that I am earneſt with my readers to be cautious how they reprove us on this occaſion; and do once more entreat them, that they would ſeriouſly weigh in themſelves, whether it be the ſpirit of the world, or of the Father, that is ſo angry with our honeſt, plain, and harmleſs Thou and Thee: that ſo every plant that God, our heavenly Father, hath not planted in the ſons and daughters of men, may be rooted up.

CHAP. XI.

§. 1. Pride leads people to an exceſſive value of their perſons. §. 2. It is plain from the racket that is made about blood and families: alſo in the caſe of ſhape and beauty. §. 3. Blood no nobility, but virtue. §. 4. Virtue no upſtart; antiquity, no nobility without it, elſe age and blood would bar virtue in the preſent age. §. 5. God teaches the true ſenſe of nobility, who made of one blood all nations: there is the original of all blood. §. 6. Theſe men of Blood, out of their feathers, look like other men. §. 7. This is not ſaid to reject, but humble the gentleman: the advantages of that condition above others. An exhortation to recover their loſt economy in families, out of intereſt and credit. §. 8. But the author has a higher motive; the goſpel, and the excellencies of it, which they profeſs. §. 9. The pride of perſons reſpecting ſhape and beauty: the waſhes, patches, paintings, dreſſings, &c. This exceſs would keep the poor: the miſchiefs that attend it. §. 10. But pride in the old, and homely,

yet more hateful: that it is usual. The madness of it. Counsel to the beautiful to get their souls like their bodies; and to the homely, to supply want of that, in the adornment of their lasting part, their souls, with holiness. Nothing homely with God, but sin. The blessedness of those that wear Christ's yoke and cross, and are crucified to the world.

§. I. BUT pride stops not here; she excites people to an excessive value and care of their persons: they must have great and punctual attendance, stately furniture, rich and exact apparel: all which help to make up that pride of life, that John tells us, 'is 'not of the Father, but of the world.'[a] A sin God charged upon the haughty daughters of Zion, Isa. iii. and on the proud prince and people of Tyrus, Ezek. xxvii. 28. Read these chapters, and measure this age by their sins, and what is coming on these nations by their judgments. But at the present I shall only touch upon the first, viz. the excessive value people have of their persons; leaving the rest to be considered under the last head of this discourse, which is luxury, where they may be not improperly placed.

§. II. That people are generally proud of their persons, is too visible and troublesome; especially if they have any pretence either to blood or beauty; the one has raised many quarrels among men; and the other among women, and men too often, for their sakes, and at their excitements. But to the first: what a pother has this noble blood made in the world, antiquity of name or family? whose father or mother, great grandfather, or great grand-mother, was best descended or allied? what stock, or what clan, they came of? what coat of arms they gave? which had, of right, the precedence? But, methinks, nothing of man's folly has less shew of reason to palliate it.

§. III. For first, What matter is it of whom any one is descended, that is not of ill-fame; since it is his own virtue

[a] 1 John ii 16 17.

virtue that must raise, or vice depress him? An ancestor's character is no excuse to a man's ill actions, but an aggravation of his degeneracy: and since virtue comes not by generation, I am neither the better nor the worse for my fore-father; to be sure, not in God's account, nor should it be in man's. Nobody would endure injuries the easier, or reject favours the more, for coming by the hand of a man well or ill defended. I confess it were greater honour to have had no blots, and with an hereditary estate to have had a lineal descent or worth: but that was never found, no, not in the most blessed of families upon earth, I mean Abraham's. To be descended of wealth and titles, fills no man's head with brains, or heart with truth: those qualities come from an higher cause. It is vanity then, and most condemnable pride, for a man of bulk and character to despise another of less size in the world, and of meaner alliance, for want of them; because the latter may have the merit, where the former has only the effects of it in an ancestor: and though the one be great, by means of a fore-father; the other is so too, but it is by his own: then, pray, which is the bravest man of the two?

§. IV. O, says the person proud of blood, it was never a good world, since we have had so many upstart gentlemen! But what should others have said of that man's ancestor, when he started first up into the knowledge of the world? for he, and all men and families, ay, and all states and kingdoms too, have had their upstarts, that is, their beginnings. This is like being the true church because old, not because good; for families to be noble by being old, and not by being virtuous. No such matter: it must be age in virtue, or else virtue before age; for otherwise a man should be noble by means of his predecessor, and yet the predecessor less noble than he, because he was the acquirer: which is a paradox that will puzzle all their heraldry to explain! Strange that they should be more noble than their ancestor, that got their nobility for them! But if this be absurd, as it is, then the upstart is the noble man; the man

man that got it by his virtue: and thoſe are only intitled to his honour, that are imitators of his virtue; the reſt may bear his name from his blood, but that is all. If virtue then give nobility, which Heathens themſelves agree, then families are no longer truly noble, than they are virtuous. And if virtue go not by blood, but by the qualifications of the decendants, it follows, blood is excluded: elſe blood would bar virtue; and no man that wanted the one, ſhould be allowed the benefit of the other; which were to ſtint and bound nobility, for want of antiquity, and make virtue uſeleſs.

No, let blood and name go together; but pray let nobility and virtue keep company, for they are neareſt of kin. It is thus poſited by God himſelf, that beſt knows how to apportion things with an equal and juſt hand. He neither likes, nor diſlikes by deſcent: nor does he regard what people were, but are. He remembers not the righteouſneſs of any man that leaves his righteouſneſs;[b] much leſs any unrighteous man for the righteouſneſs of his anceſtor.

§. V. But if theſe men of blood pleaſe to think themſelves concerned to believe and reverence God, in his holy ſcriptures, they may learn, that in the beginning he made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth; and, that we all deſcended of one father and mother.[c] A more certain original than the beſt of us can aſſign. From thence go down to Noah, who was the ſecond planter of human race, and we are upon ſome certainty for our fore-fathers. What violence has raped, or virtue merited ſince, and how far we that are alive are concerned in either, will be hard for us to determine but a very few ages off us.

§. VI. But, methinks it ſhould ſuffice to ſay, our own eyes ſee that men of blood, out of their gears and trappings, without their feathers and finery, have no more marks of honour by nature ſtampt upon them, than their inferior neighbours. Nay, themſelves being judges

[b] Ezek. xviii [c] Acts xvii 26

judges, they will frankly tell us, they feel all those passions in their blood, that make them like other men, if not farther from the virtue that truly dignifies. The lamentable ignorance and debauchery that now rages among too many of our greater sort of folks, is too clear and casting an evidence in the point: and pray tell me, of what blood are they come?

§. VII. Howbeit, when I have said all this, I intend not, by debasing one false quality, to make insolent another that is not true. I would not be thought to set the churl upon the present gentleman's shoulder; by no means: his rudeness will not mend the matter. But what I have writ is, to give aim to all where true nobility dwells, that every one may arrive at it by the ways of virtue and goodness. But for all this, I must allow a great advantage to the gentleman; and therefore prefer his station, just as the apostle Paul, who, after he had humbled the Jews, that insulted upon the Christians with their law and rites, gave them the advantage upon all other nations in statutes and judgments. I must grant, that the condition of our great men is much to be preferred to the ranks of inferior people. For, first, they have more power to do good: and, if their hearts be equal to their ability, they are blessings to the people of any country. Secondly, the eyes of the people are usually directed to them; and if they will be kind, just, and helpful, they shall have their affections and services. Thirdly, they are not under equal straits with the inferior sort, and consequently, they have more help, leisure, and occasion, to polish their passions and tempers with books and conversation. Fourthly, they have more time to observe the actions of other nations; to travel, and view the laws, customs and interests of other countries, and bring home whatever is worthy or imitable. And so an easier way is open for great men to get honour; and such as love true reputation, will embrace the best means to it. But because it too often happens, that great men do little mind to give God the glory of their prosperity, and to live answerable to his mercies; but on the

the contrary 'live without God in the world,' fulfilling the luſts thereof, his hand is often ſeen, either in impoveriſhing or extinguiſhing them, and raiſing up men of more virtue and humility to their eſtates and dignity. However, I muſt allow, that among people of this rank, there have been ſome of them of more than ordinary virtue, whoſe examples have given light to their families. And it has been ſomething natural for ſome of their deſcendants to endeavour to keep up the credit of their houſes, in proportion to the merit of their founder. And, to ſay true, if there be any advantage in ſuch deſcent, it is not from blood, but education: for blood has no intelligence in it, and is often ſpurious and uncertain: but education has a mighty influence, and ſtrong bias upon the affections and actions of men. In this, the ancient nobles and gentry of this kingdom did excel: and it were much to be wiſhed, that our great people would ſet about to recover the ancient economy of their houſes, the ſtrict and virtuous diſcipline of their anceſtors, when men were honoured for their atchievements, and when nothing more expoſed a man to ſhame, than his being born to a nobility that he had not a virtue to ſupport.

§. VIII. O but I have an higher motive! the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, which having taught this northern iſle, and all ranks profeſſing to believe in it, let me prevail upon you to ſeek the honour that it has brought from heaven to all the true diſciples of it, who are indeed the followers of God's Lamb, that 'takes away the ſins 'of the world.'[d] Receive with meekneſs his gracious word into your hearts, that ſubdues the world's luſts, and leads in the holy way to bleſſedneſs. Here are charms no carnal eye hath ſeen, nor ear heard, nor heart perceived, but they are revealed to ſuch humble converts by his Spirit. Remember you are but creatures, and that you muſt die, and after all be judged.

§. IX. But

[d] John i 29.

§. IX. But perſonal pride ends not in nobility of blood; it leads folks to a fond value of their perſons, be they noble or ignoble; eſpecially if they have any pretence to ſhape or beauty. It is admirable to ſee, how much it is poſſible for ſome to be taken with themſelves, as if nothing elſe deſerved their regard, or the good opinion of others. It would abate their folly, if they could find in their hearts to ſpare but half the time to think of God, and their latter end, which they moſt prodigally ſpend in waſhing, perfuming, painting, patching, attiring and dreſſing. In theſe things they are preciſe, and very artificial; and for coſt they ſpare not. But that which aggravates the evil is, the pride of one might comfortably ſupply the need of ten. 'Groſs impiety that it is, that a nation's pride ſhould 'not be ſpared to a nation's poor!' But what is this for at laſt? only to be admired, to have reverence, draw love, and command the eyes and affections of beholders. And ſo fantaſtic are they in it, as hardly to be pleaſed too. Nothing is good, or fine, or faſhionable enough for them; the ſun itſelf, the bleſſing of heaven and comfort of the earth, muſt not ſhine upon them, leſt it tan them; nor the wind blow, for fear it ſhould diſorder them. O impious nicety! yet while they value themſelves above all elſe, they make themſelves the vaſſals of their own pride: worſhipping their ſhape, feature, or complexion, whichſoever is their excellency. The end of all which is, but too often, to excite unlawful love, which I call luſt, and draw one another into as miſerable as evil circumſtances. In ſingle perſons it is of ill conſequence; for if it does not awaken unchaſte deſires, it lays no foundation for ſolid and laſting union: want of which helps to make ſo many unhappy marriages in the world: but in married people, the ſin is aggravated; for they have none of right to pleaſe, but one another; and to affect the gaiety and vanity of youth, is an ill ſign of loving and living well at home: it looks rather like dreſſing for a market. It has ſad effects in families; diſcontents, partings, duels, poiſonings, and other infamous murders. No age can better

better tell us the ſad effects of this ſort of pride, than this we live in; as, how exceſſive wanton, ſo how fatal it has been to the ſobriety, virtue, peace, and health of families in this kingdom.

§. X. But I muſt needs ſay, that of all creatures this ſort of pride does leaſt become the old and homely, if I may call the ill-favoured and deformed ſo; for the old are proud only of what they had; which ſhews to their reproach, their pride has out-lived their beauty, and when they ſhould be a repenting, they are making work for repentance. But the homely are yet worſe, they are proud of what they never had, nor ever can have. Nay, their perſons ſeem as if they were given for a perpetual humiliation to their minds; and to be proud of them, is loving pride for pride's ſake, and to be proud without a temptation to be proud. And yet in my whole life I have obſerved nothing more doating on itſelf: a ſtrange infatuation and enchantment of pride! what! not to ſee right with their eyes, becauſe of the partiality of their minds? This ſelf-love is blind indeed. But to add expenſe to the vanity, and to be coſtly upon that which cannot be mended, one would think they ſhould be downright mad; eſpecially if they conſider that they look the homelier for the things that are thought handſome, and do but thereby draw their deformity more into notice, by that which does ſo little become them.

But in ſuch perſons follies we have a ſpecimen of man; what a creature he is in his lapſe from his primitive image. All this (as Jeſus ſaid of ſin of old) comes from within;[d] that is the diſregard that man and woman have to the Word of their Creator in their hearts, which ſhews pride, and teaches humility and ſelf-abaſement, and directs the mind to the true object of honour and worſhip; and that with an awe and reverence ſuitable to his ſovereignty and majeſty. Poor mortals! but living dirt; made of what they tread on; who, with all their pride, cannot ſecure themſelves from the ſpoil of ſickneſs,

[d] Mat. xv 11 18 19 20.

neſs much leſs from the the ſtroke of death.[e] O! did people conſider the inconſtancy of all viſible things, the croſs and adverſe occurrences of man's life, the certainty of his departure, and eternal judgment, it is to be hoped, they would bring their deeds to Chriſt's light in their hearts, and they would ſee if they were wrought in God or no, as the beloved diſciple tells us from his dear Maſter's mouth.[f] Art thou ſhapely, comely, beautiful; the exact draught of an human creature? admire that power that made thee ſo. Live an harmonious life to the curious make and frame of thy creation; and let the beauty of thy body teach thee to beautify thy mind with holineſs, the ornament of the beloved of God. Art thou homely or deformed? magnify that goodneſs which did not make thee a beaſt; and with the grace that is given unto thee (for it has appeared unto all) learn to adorn thy ſoul with enduring beauty. Remember, the king of heaven's daughter, the church (of which true Chriſtians are members) is all glorious within: and if thy ſoul excel, thy body will only ſet off the luſtre of thy mind. Nothing is homely in God's ſight but ſin: and that man and woman that commune with their own hearts, and ſin not: who in the light of holy Jeſus, watch over the movings and inclinations of their own ſouls, and that ſuppreſs every evil in its conception, they love the yoke and croſs of Chriſt, and are daily by it crucified to the world, but live to God in that life which outlives the fading ſatisfactions of it.

CHAP. XII

§. 1. The character of a proud man: a glutton upon himſelf. Is proud of his Pedigree. §. 2. He is inſolent and quarrelſome, but cowardly, yet cruel. §. 3. An ill child, ſubject and ſervant. §. 4. Unhoſpitable. §. 5. No friend to any. §. 6. Dangerous and miſ-

S chievous

[e] Deut. xxx 14 Rom. x 8 [f] John iii 20 21

chievous in power. §. 7. Of all things pride bad in miniſters. §. 8. They claim prerogative above all others. §. 9. And call themſelves the clergy; their lordlineſs and avarice. §. 10. Death ſwallows all. §. 11. The way to eſcape theſe evils.

§. 1. TO conclude this great head of pride, let us briefly ſee upon the whole matter, what is the character of a proud man in himſelf, and in divers relations and capacities. A proud man then is a kind of glutton upon himſelf; for he is never ſatisfied with loving and admiring himſelf; whilſt nothing elſe with him is worthy either of love or care: if good enough to be the ſervant of his will, it is as much as he can find in his heart to allow: as if he had been only made for himſelf, or rather that he had made himſelf. For as he deſpiſes man, becauſe he cannot abide an equal, ſo he does not love God, becauſe he would not have a ſuperior: he cannot bear to owe his being to another, leſt he ſhould thereby acknowledge one above himſelf. He is one that is mighty big with the honour of his anceſtors, but not of the virtue that brought them to it; much leſs will he trouble himſelf to imitate them. He can tell you of his pedigree, his antiquity, what eſtate, what matches; but forgets that they are gone, and that he muſt die too.

§. II. But how troubleſome a companion is proud man! ever poſitive and controuling; and if you yield not, inſolent and quarrelſome; yet at the upſhot of the matter, cowardly: but if ſtrongeſt, cruel. He has no bowels of adverſity, as if it were below him to be ſenſible; he feels no more of other men's miſeries, than if he was not a man, or it was a ſin to be ſenſible. For not feeling himſelf intereſted, he looks no farther: he will not diſquiet his thoughts with other men's infelicities: it ſhall content him to believe they are juſt: and he had rather churliſhly upbraid them as the cauſe, than be ready to commiſerate or relieve them. So that compaſſion and charity are with him as uſeleſs, as humility and meekneſs are hateful.

§. III. A

§. III. A proud man makes an ill child, ſervant, and ſubject: he contemns his parents, maſter and prince: he will not be ſubject. He thinks himſelf too wiſe, or too old, to be directed; as if it were a ſlaviſh thing to obey; and that none were free, that may not do what they pleaſe; which turns duty out of doors, and degrades authority. On the other hand, if it be an huſband, or father, or maſter, there is ſcarcely any enduring. He is ſo inſufferably curious and teſty, that it is an affliction to live with him: for hardly can any hand carry it even enough to pleaſe him. Some peccadillo about his clothes, his diet, his lodging, or attendance, quite diſorders him: but eſpecially if he fancies any want in the ſtate and reſpect he looks for. Thus pride deſtroys the nature of relations: on the one ſide, it learns to contemn duty: and on the other ſide, it turns love into fear, and makes the wife a ſervant, and the children and ſervants, ſlaves.

§. IV. But the proud man makes an ill neighbour too; for he is an enemy to hoſpitality; he deſpiſes to receive kindneſs, becauſe he would not ſhew any, nor be thought to need it. Beſides, it looks too equal and familiar for his haughty humour. Emulation and detraction are his element; for he is jealous of attributing any praiſe to others, where juſt, leſt that ſhould cloud and leſſen him, to whom it never could be due; he is the man that fears what he ſhould wiſh, to wit, that others ſhould do well. But that is not all; he maliciouſly miſcalls their acts of virtue, which his corruptions will not let him imitate, that they may get no credit by them. If he wants any occaſion of doing miſchief, he can make one; either, they uſe him ill, or have ſome deſign upon him; the other day they paid him not the cap and knee, the diſtance and reſpect he thinks his quality, parts, or merits do require. A ſmall thing ſerves a proud man to pick a quarrel; of all creatures the moſt jealous, ſullen, ſpiteful, and revengeful: he can no more forgive an injury, than forbear to do one.

§. V. Nor is this all; a proud man can never be a friend to any body. For beſides that his ambition may always

always be bribed by honour and preferment to betray that relation, he is unconverſible; he muſt not be catechiſed and counſelled, much leſs reproved or contradicted; no, he is too covetous of himſelf to ſpare another man a ſhare, and much too high, ſtiff, and touchy; he will not away with thoſe freedoms that a real friendſhip requires. To ſay true, he contemns the character; it is much too familiar and humble for him; his mighty ſoul would know nothing beſides himſelf, and vaſſals to ſtock the world. He values other men as we do cattle; for their ſervice only; and, if he could, would uſe them ſo; but as it happens, the number and force are unequal.

§. VI. But a proud man in power is very miſchievous; for his pride is the more dangerous by his greatneſs, ſince from ambition in private men, it becomes tyranny in them: it would reign alone; nay, live ſo, rather than have competitors: *aut Cæſar, aut nullus.* Reaſon muſt not check it, nor rules of law limit it; and either it can do no wrong, or it is ſedition to complain of the wrong that it does. The men of this temper would have nothing thought amiſs they do; at leaſt, they count it dangerous to allow it to be ſo, though ſo it be; for that would imply they had erred, which it is always matter of ſtate to deny. No, they will rather chooſe to periſh obſtinately, than by acknowledging, yield away the reputation of better judging to inferiors: though it were their prudence to do ſo. And indeed, it is all the ſatisfaction that proud great men make to the world for the miſeries they often bring upon it, that firſt or laſt, upon a diviſion, they leave their real intereſt to follow ſome one exceſs of humour, and are almoſt ever deſtroyed by it. This is the end pride gives proud men, and the ruin it brings upon them, after it has puniſhed others by them.

§. VII. But above all things, pride is intolerable in men pretending to religion; and, of them, in miniſters; for they are names of the greateſt contradiction. I ſpeak without reſpect or anger to perſons or parties; for I only touch upon the bad of all. What ſhall pride do with

with religion, that rebukes it? or ambition with ministers, whose very office is humility? And yet there are but too many of them, that, besides an equal guilt with others in the fleshly pride of the world, are even proud of that name and office, which ought always to mind them of self-denial. Yea, they use it as the beggars do the name of God and Christ, only to get by it: placing to their own account the advantages of that reverend profession, and thereby making their function but a politic handle to raise themselves to the great preferments of the world. But, O then, how can such be his ministers, that said, 'My kingdom is not of this world?' Who, of mankind, more self-conceited than these men? If contradicted, as arrogant and angry as if it were their calling to be so. Counsel one of them, he scorns you; reprove him, and he is almost ready to excommunicate you. 'I am a minister and an elder:' flying thither to secure himself from the reach of just censure, which indeed exposes him but the more to it: and therefore his fault cannot be the less, by how much is it worse in a minister do ill, and spurn at reproof, than an ordinary man.

§. VIII. O but he pleads an exemption by his office! What! shall he breed up chickens to pick out his own eyes? be rebuked or instructed by a lay-man, or parishioner? a man of less age, learning, or ability! no such matter; he would have us believe that his ministerial prerogative has placed him out of the reach of popular impeachment. He is not subject to vulgar judgments. Even questions about religion are schism: believe as he says: it is not for you to pry so curiously into the mysteries of religion: never good day since lay-men meddled so much with the minister's office. Not considering, poor man! that the contrary is most true; not many good days since ministers meddled so much in lay-men's business. Though perhaps there is little reason for the distinction, besides spiritual gifts, and the improvement of them by a diligent use of them for the good of others.

Such

Such good ſayings as theſe, 'Be ready to teach; 'anſwer with meekneſs: let every man ſpeak as of the 'gift of God, that is in him: if any thing be revealed 'to him that ſits by, let the firſt hold his peace; be 'not lords over God's heritage, but meek and lowly; 'waſhing the feet of the people, as Jeſus did thoſe of 'his poor diſciples;'[a] are unreaſonable and antiquated inſtructions with ſome clergy; and it is little leſs than hereſy to remember them of theſe things: to be ſure a mark of great diſaffection to the church, in their opinion. For by this time their pride has made them the church, and the people but the porch at beſt; a cypher that ſignifies nothing, unleſs they clap their figure before it; forgetting, that if they were as good as they ſhould be, they could be but miniſters, ſtewards, and under-ſhepherds: that is, ſervants to the church, family, flock, and heritage of God; and not that they are that church, family, flock, and heritage, which they are only ſervants unto. Remember the words of Chriſt, 'Let him that would be greateſt be your ſervant.'[b]

§. IX. There is but one place to be found in the holy ſcripture, where the word *clerus* (κλῆρος) can properly be applied to the church, and they have got it to themſelves; from whence they call themſelves the clergy, that is, the inheritance or heritage of God. Whereas Peter exhorts the miniſters of the goſpel, 'not to be lords over God's heritage, nor to feed them 'for filthy lucre.'[c] Peter (belike) foreſaw pride and avarice to be the miniſter's temptations; and, indeed, they have often proved their fall: and, to ſay true, they could hardly fall by worſe. Nor is there any excuſe to be made for them in theſe two reſpects, which is not worſe than their ſin. For if they have not been lords over God's heritage, it is becauſe they have made themſelves that heritage, and diſ-inherited the people; ſo that now they may be the people's lords, with a ſalvo to good old Peter's exhortation.

And

[a] 2 Tim. ii 24 25 Tit. iii 1 Cor. xiv 30 [b] Mat. xx 26
[c] 1 Pet. v 2 3.

And for the other sin of avarice, they can only avoid it, and speak truth, thus, 'that never feeding the flock, 'they cannot be said to feed it for lucre:' that is, they get the people's money for nothing. An example of which is given us, by the complaint of God himself, from the practice of the proud, covetous, false prophets of old, 'that the people gave their money for that which 'was not bread, and their labour for that which did not 'profit them:'[d] and why? Because then the priest had no vision; and too many now despise it:

§. X. But alas! when all is done, what folly, as well as irreligion, is there in pride? It cannot add one cubit to any man's stature: What crosses can it hinder? What disappointments help, or harm frustrate? It delivers not from the common stroke; sickness disfigures; pain misshapes; and death ends the proud man's fabrick. Six foot of cold earth bounds his big thoughts; and his person, that was too good for any place, must at last lodge within the strait limits of so little and so dark a cave: and who thought nothing well enough for him, is quickly the entertainment of the lowest of all animals, even worms themselves. Thus pride and pomp come to the common end; but with this difference, less pity from the living, and more pain to the dying. The proud man's antiquity cannot secure him from death, nor his heraldry from judgment. Titles of honour vanish at this extremity; and no power or wealth, no distance or respect can rescue or insure them: as the tree falls, it lies; and as death leaves men, judgment finds them.

§. XI. O, what can prevent this ill conclusion? and what can remedy this woful declension from ancient meekness, humility, and piety, and that godly life and power which were so conspicuous in the authority of the preachings, and examples of the living, of the first and purest ages of Christianity! truly, nothing but an inward and sincere examination, by the testimony of the holy Light and Spirit of Jesus, of the condition of their souls

[d] Isa. lv 2

ſouls and minds toward Chriſt, and a better inquiry into the matter and examples of holy record. It was his complaint of old, 'that light was come into the world, 'but men loved darkneſs rather than light, becauſe 'their deeds were evil.'[e] If thou wouldeſt be a child of God, and a believer in Chriſt, thou muſt be a child of light. O man! thou muſt bring thy deeds to it, and examine them by that holy lamp in thy ſoul, which is the candle of the Lord, that ſhews thee thy pride and arrogancy, and reproves thy delight in the vain faſhions of this world. Religion is a denial of ſelf; yea, of ſelf-religion too. It is a firm tie or bond upon the ſoul to holineſs, whoſe end is happineſs; for by it men come to ſee the Lord. 'The pure in heart (ſays Jeſus) 'ſee God:'[f] he that once comes to bear Chriſt's yoke, is not carried away by the devil's allurements; he finds excelling joys in his watchfulneſs and obedience. If men loved the croſs of Chriſt, his precepts and doctrine, they would croſs their own wills, which lead them to break Chriſt's holy will, and loſe their own ſouls in doing the devil's. Had Adam minded that holy light in paradiſe more than the ſerpent's bait, and ſtayed his mind upon his Creator, the rewarder of fidelity, he had ſeen the ſnare of the enemy, and reſiſted him. O do not delight in that which is forbidden! look not upon it, if thou wouldeſt not be captivated by it. Bring not the guilt of ſins of knowledge upon thy own ſoul. Did Chriſt ſubmit his will to his Father's, and, for the joy that was ſet before him, endure the croſs, and deſpiſe the ſhame of a new and untrodden way to glory?[g] Thou alſo muſt ſubmit thy will to Chriſt's holy law and light in thy heart, and for the reward he ſets before thee, to wit, eternal life, endure his croſs, and deſpiſe the ſhame of it. All deſire to rejoice with him, but few will ſuffer with him, or for him. Many are the companions of his table; not many of his abſtinence. The loaves they follow, but the cup of his agony they leave. It is too bitter: they like not to

[e] John iii 19 [f] Mat. v 8 [g] Heb. i 2

to drink thereof. And divers will magnify his miracles, that are offended at the ignominy of his cross. But, O man! as he for thy salvation, so thou for the love of him must humble thyself, and be contented to be of no reputation,[h] that thou mayest follow him; not in a carnal, formal way, of vain man's tradition and prescription, but as the Holy Ghost by the apostle doth express it, 'In the new and living way,'[i] which Jesus hath consecrated, that brings all that walk in it to the eternal rest of God: whereinto he himself is entered, who is the holy and only blessed Redeemer.

CHAP. XIII.

§. 1. Avarice (the second capital lust) its definition and distinction. §. 2. It consists in a desire of unlawful things. §. 3. As in David's case about Uriah's wife. §. 4. Also Ahab's about Naboth's vineyard. §. 5. Next, in unlawful desires of lawful things. §. 6. Covetousness is a mark of false prophets. §. 7. A reproach to religion. §. 8. An enemy to government. §. 9. Treacherous. §. 10. Oppressive. §. 11. Judas an example. §. 12. So Simon Magus. §. 13. Lastly, in unprofitable hoarding of money. §. 14. The covetous man a common evil. §. 15. His hypocrisy. §. 16. Gold his god. §. 17. He is sparing to death. §. 18. Is reproved by Christ and his followers. §. 19. Ananias and Sapphira's sin and judgment. §. 20. William Tindal's discourse on that subject referred unto. §. 21. Peter Charron's testimony against it. §. 22. Abraham Cowley's witty and sharp satire upon it.

§. 1. I AM come to the second part of this discourse, which is avarice, or covetousness, an epidemical and a raging distemper in the world, attended with all the mischief that can make men miserable in themselves,

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[h] Phil. ii 7 [i] Heb. x 19 20

and in ſociety: ſo near a-kin to the foregoing evil, pride, that they are ſeldom apart: liberality being almoſt as hateful to the proud as to the covetous. I ſhall define it thus: Covetouſneſs is the love of money or riches: 'which (as the apoſtle hath it) is the root of all evil,'[a] It brancheth itſelf into theſe three parts: Firſt, Deſiring of unlawful things. Secondly, Unlawfully deſiring of lawful things. And laſtly, Hoarding up, or unprofitably with-holding the benefit of them from the relief of private perſons, or the public. I ſhall firſt deliver the ſenſe of ſcripture, and what examples are therein afforded againſt this impiety: and next my own reaſons, with ſome authorities from authors of credit: by which it will appear, that the working of the love of riches out of the hearts of people, is as much the buſineſs of the Croſs of Chriſt, as the rooting out of any one ſin that man is fallen into.

§. II. And firſt, of deſiring or coveting of unlawful things: It is expreſsly forbidden by God himſelf, in the law he delivered to Moſes upon Mount Sinai, for a rule to his people, the Jews, to walk by: 'Thou 'ſhalt not covet (ſaith God) thy neighbour's houſe, 'thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his 'man-ſervant, nor his maid-ſervant, nor his ox, nor his 'aſs, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.'[b] This God confirmed by thunderings and lightnings, and other ſenſible ſolemnities, to ſtrike the people with more awe in receiving and keeping of it, and to make the breach of theſe moral precepts more terrible to them, Micah complains full-mouth'd in his time, 'They covet 'fields, and take them by violence;'[c] but their end was miſery. Therefore was it ſaid of old, 'Wo to 'them that covet an evil covetouſneſs:' this is to our point. We have many remarkable inſtances of this in ſcripture; two of which I will briefly report.

§. III. David, though otherwiſe a good man, by unwatchfulneſs is taken; the beauty of Uriah's wife was too hard for him, being diſarmed, and off from his ſpiritual

[a] Epheſ. v 3 5 1 Tim. vi. 9 10 [b] Exod. xx [c] Mic. i 2

ſpiritual watch. There was no diſſuaſive would do: Uriah muſt be put upon a deſperate ſervice, where it was great odds if he ſurvived it. This was to haſten the unlawful ſatisfaction of his deſires by a way that looked not like direct murder. The contrivance took; Uriah is killed, and his wife is quickly David's. This interpreted David's covetouſneſs. But went it off ſo? No, David had ſharp ſauce with his meat. 'His pleaſure ſoon turned to anguiſh and bitterneſs of ſpirit: his ſoul was overwhelmed with ſorrow: the waves went over his head: he was conſumed within him: he was ſtuck in the mire and clay; he cried, he wept; yea, his eyes were as a fountain of tears. Guiltineſs was upon him, and he muſt be purged; his ſins waſhed white as ſnow, that were as red as crimſon, or he is undone for ever.'[d] His repentance prevailed: behold, what work this part of covetouſneſs makes! what evil, what ſorrow! O that the people of this covetouſneſs would let the ſenſe of David's ſorrows ſink deep into their ſouls, that they might come to David's ſalvation! 'Reſtore me,' ſaith that good man: it ſeems he once knew a better ſtate: yes, and this may teach the better ſort to fear, and ſtand in awe too, leſt they ſin and fall. For David was taken at a diſadvantage: he was off his watch, and gone from the croſs: the law was not his lamp and light, at that inſtant: he was a wanderer from his ſafety, his ſtrong tower, and ſo ſurpriſed: then and there it was that the enemy met him, and vanquiſhed him.

§. IV. The ſecond inſtance is that of Naboth's vineyard: it was coveted by Ahab and Jezebel:[e] that which led them to ſuch an unlawful deſire, found means to accompliſh it. Naboth muſt die, for he would not ſell it. To do it, they accuſe the innocent man of blaſphemy, and find two knights of the poſt, ſons of Belial, to evidence againſt him. Thus, in the name of God, and in ſhew of pure zeal to his glory, Naboth muſt

[d] Pſal. li Pſal. lxxvii Pſal. xlii 7 Pſal. lxix 2. 14 Pſal. iv 6 7 [e] 1 Kings xxi

muſt die; and accordingly was ſtoned to death. The news of which coming to Jezebel, ſhe bid Ahab ariſe and take poſſeſſion, for Naboth was dead; but God followed both of them with his fierce vengeance. 'In the 'place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth 'ſaith Elijah in the name of the Lord) ſhall dogs lick 'thy blood; even thine: and I will bring evil upon 'thee, and take away thy poſterity;' and of Jezebel (his wife and partner in this covetouſneſs and murder) he adds, 'the dogs ſhall eat her fleſh by the walls of 'Jezreel.' Here is the infamy and puniſhment due to this part of covetouſneſs. Let this deter thoſe that deſire unlawful things; the rights of others: for God that is juſt, will certainly repay ſuch with intereſt in the end. But perhaps theſe are few: either that they do not or dare not ſhew it, becauſe the law will bite if they do. But the next part hath company enough, that will yet exclaim againſt the iniquity of this part of covetouſneſs; and by their ſeeming abhorrence of it, would excuſe themſelves of all guilt in the reſt: let us conſider that.

§. V. The next and moſt common part of covetouſneſs is, the unlawful deſire of lawful things; eſpecially of riches. Money is lawful, 'but the love of it is 'the root of all evil,' if the man of God ſay true. So riches are lawful; but they that purſue them 'fall 'into divers temptations, ſnares and luſts;' if the ſame good man ſay right. He calls them 'uncertain' to ſhew their folly and danger that ſet their hearts upon them. Covetouſneſs is hateful to God: he hath denounced great judgments upon thoſe that are guilty of it. God charged it on Iſrael of old, as one of the reaſons of his judgments: 'For the iniquity of his 'covetouſneſs (ſaith God) was I wroth, and ſmote 'him.' In another place, 'Every one is given to 'covetouſneſs; and from the prophet to the prieſt, 'every one dealeth falſely; therefore will I give their 'wives unto others, and their fields to them that ſhall 'inherit them.' In another place, God complained thus: 'But thine eyes and thy heart are not but for 'thy

'thy covetouſneſs.'[f] By Ezekiel God renews and repeats his complaint againſt their covetouſneſs: 'and 'they come to thee as the people, and ſit before thee 'as my people: they hear thy words, but will not do 'them; with their mouths they ſhew much love, but 'their hearts go after covetouſneſs.'[g] Therefore God, in the choice of magiſtrates, made it part of their qualification, to hate covetouſneſs; foreſeeing the miſchief that would follow to that ſociety or government where covetous men were in power; that ſelf would bias them, and they would ſeek their own ends at the coſt of the public. David deſired, 'that his 'heart might not incline to covetouſneſs, but to the 'teſtimonies of his God.'[h] And the wiſe man expreſsly tells us, that, 'He that hateth covetouſneſs, 'ſhall prolong his days;'[i] making a curſe to follow it. And it is by Luke charged upon the Phariſees, as a mark of their wickedneſs. And Chriſt, in that evangeliſt, bids his followers take 'heed and beware of covetouſneſs:'[k] and he giveth a reaſon for it, that carrieth a moſt excellent inſtruction in it; 'for (ſaith he) 'a man's life conſiſteth not in the abundance of the 'things which he poſſeſſeth:'[l] but he goeth farther: he joins covetouſneſs with adultery, murder, and blaſphemy.[m] No wonder then if the apoſtle Paul is ſo liberal in his cenſure of this evil: he placeth it with all unrighteouſneſs, to the Romans:[n] to the Epheſians he writeth the like; and addeth, 'Let not covetouſneſs 'be ſo much as named among you:'[o] and bids the Coloſſians, 'mortify their members;'[p] and names ſeveral ſins, as fornication, uncleanneſs, and ſuch like, but ends with covetouſneſs; with this at the tail of it, 'which (ſaith he) is idolatry.' And we know there is not a greater offence againſt God: nay, this very apoſtle calls 'the love of money the root of all evil: which '(ſaith he) whilſt ſome have coveted after, they have 'erred

[f] Iſa. lvii 17 Jer. vi 13 ch. viii 10 and xxii 17 [g] Ezek. xxxiii 31 [h] Pſal. cxix 36 [i] Prov. xxvi 16 [k] Luke xvi 14 [l] Luke xii 15 [m] Mark vii 22 [n] Rom. i 29 [o] Eph. v 3 [p] Col. iii 5 6.

'erred from the faith, and pierced themſelves through 'with divers ſorrows: for they that will be rich, fall 'into temptation, and a ſnare, and many fooliſh and 'hurtful luſts. O man of God (ſaith he to his beloved 'friend Timothy) flee theſe things, and follow after 'righteouſneſs, faith, love, patience, and meekneſs.'[q]

§. VI. Peter was of the ſame mind; for he maketh covetouſneſs to be one of the great marks of the falſe prophets and teachers that ſhould ariſe among the Chriſtians; and by that they might know them: 'Who '(ſaith he) through covetouſneſs, ſhall, with feigned 'words, make merchandize of you.'[r] To conclude, therefore, the author to the Hebrews, at the end of his epiſtle, leaves this (with other things) not without great zeal and weight upon them: 'Let (ſaith he) your 'converſation be without covetouſneſs' (he reſts not in this generality, but goes on) 'and be content with 'ſuch things as you have: for God hath ſaid, I will 'never leave thee, nor forſake thee:'[s] What then? Muſt we conclude that thoſe who are not content, but ſeek to be rich, have forſaken God? The concluſion ſeems hard; but yet it is natural: for ſuch, it is plain, are not content with what they have; they would have more; they covet to be rich, if they may; they live not with thoſe dependencies and regards to Providence, to which they are exhorted: nor is godlineſs, with content, great gain to them.

§. VII. And truly it is a reproach to a man, eſpecially the religious man, that he knows not when he hath enough; when to leave off; when to be ſatisfied: that notwithſtanding God ſends him one plentiful ſeaſon of gain after another, he is ſo far from making that the cauſe of withdrawing from the traffick of the world, that he makes it a reaſon of launching farther into it: as if the more he hath, the more he may. He therefore reneweth his appetite, beſtirs himſelf more than ever, that he may have his ſhare in the ſcramble, while any thing

[q] 1 Tim. vi 9 10 11 [r] 2 Pet. ii 3 [s] Heb. xiii 5.

thing is to be got: this is as if cumber, not retirement, and gain, not content, were the duty and comfort of a Christian. O that this thing was better considered! for by not being so observable nor obnoxious to the law as other vices are, there is more danger, for want of that check. It is plain that most people strive not for substance, but wealth. Some there be that love it strongly, and spend it liberally, when they have got it. Though this be sinful, yet more commendable than to love money for money's sake. That is one of the basest passions the mind of man can be captivated with: a perfect lust; and a greater, and more soul-defiling one there is not in the whole catalogue of concupiscence. Which considered, should quicken people into a serious examination, how far this temptation of love of money hath entered them; and the rather, because the steps it maketh into the mind are almost insensible, which renders the danger greater. Thousands think themselves unconcerned in the caution, that yet are perfectly guilty of the evil. How can it be otherwise, when those that have, from a low condition, acquired thousands, labour yet to advance, yea, double and treble those thousands; and that with the same care and contrivance by which they got them. Is this to live comfortably, or to be rich? Do we not see how early they rise; how late they go to bed? how full of the change, the shop, the warehouse, the custom-house; of bills, bonds, charter-parties, &c. they are? running up and down as if it were to save the life of a condemned innocent. An insatiable lust, and therein ungrateful to God, as well as hurtful to men; who giveth it to them to use, and not to love: that is the abuse. And if this care, contrivance, and industry, and that continually, be not from the love of money, in those that have ten times more than they began with, and much more than they spend or need, I know not what testimony man can give of his love to any thing.

§. VIII. To conclude, It is an enemy to government in magistrates; for it tends to corruption. Wherefore those that God ordained, were such as feared him, and hated

hated covetouſneſs. Next, it hurts ſociety; for old traders keep the young ones poor: and the great reaſon why ſome have too little, and ſo are forced to drudge like ſlaves to feed their families, and keep their chin above water, is, becauſe the rich hold faſt, and preſs to be richer, and covet more, which dries up the little ſtreams of profit from ſmaller folks. There ſhould be a ſtandard, both as to the value and time of traffick: and then the trade of the maſter to be ſhared among his ſervants that deſerve it. This were both to help the young to get their livelihood, and to give the old time to think of leaving this world well, in which they have been ſo buſy, that they might obtain a ſhare in the other, of which they have been ſo careleſs.

§. IX. There is yet another miſchief to government; for covetouſneſs leads men to abuſe and defraud it, by concealing or falſifying the goods they deal in: as bringing in forbidden goods by ſtealth, or lawful goods ſo as to avoid the payment of dues, or owning the goods of enemies for gain; or that they are not well made, or full meaſure; with abundance of that ſort of deceit.

§. X. But covetouſneſs has cauſed deſtructive feuds in families: for eſtates falling into the hands of thoſe, whoſe avarice has put them upon drawing greater profit to themſelves than was conſiſtent with juſtice, has given birth to much trouble, and cauſed great oppreſſion. It too often falling out, that ſuch executors have kept the right owners out of poſſeſſion with the money they ſhould pay them.

§. XI. But this is not all; for covetouſneſs betrays friendſhip: a bribe cannot be better placed to do an ill thing, or undo a man. Nay, it is a murderer too often both of ſoul and body: of the ſoul, becauſe it kills that life it ſhould have in God: where money maſters the mind, it extinguiſhes all love to better things: of the body, for it will kill for money, by aſſaſſinations, poiſons, falſe witneſs, &c. I ſhall end this head of covetouſneſs, with the ſin and doom of two covetous men, Judas, and Simon Magus.

Judas's

Judas's religion fell in thorny ground: love of money choked him. Pride and anger in the Jews endeavoured to murder Christ; but till covetousness set her hand to effect it, they were all at a loss. They found Judas had the bag, and probably loved money; they would try him, and did. The price was set, and Judas betrays his Master, his Lord (that never did him wrong) into the hands of his most cruel adversaries. But to do him right, he returned the money, and to be revenged on himself, was his own hangman. A wicked act, a wicked end. Come on, you covetous! What say ye now to brother Judas? Was he not an ill man? Did he not very wickedly? Yes, yes. Would you have done so? No, no, by no means. Very well; but so said those evil Jews of stoning the prophets, and that yet crucified the beloved Son of God; he that came to save them, and would have done it, if they had received him, and not rejected the day of their visitation. Rub your eyes well, for the dust has got into them; and carefully read in your own consciences, and see, if, out of love to money, you have not betrayed the just One in yourselves, and so are brethren with Judas in iniquity. I speak for God against an idol; bear with me: have you not resisted, yea, quenched the good spirit of Christ, in your pursuit after your beloved wealth? 'Examine yourselves, try yourselves; know ye not 'your ownselves, that if Christ dwell not (if he rule 'not, and be not above all beloved) in you, you are 'reprobates;'[t] in an undone condition?

§. XII. The other covetous man is Simon Magus, a believer too; but his faith could not go deep enough for covetousness. He would have driven a bargain with Peter, so much money for so much Holy Ghost; that he might sell it again, and make a good trade of it; corruptly measuring Peter by himself, as if he had only had a better knack of cozening the people than himself, who had set up in Samaria for the great power of God, before the power of God in Philip and Peter

[t] 2 Cor. xiii 5.

undeceived the people. But what was Peter's anſwer and judgment? 'Thy money (ſays he) periſh with 'thee: thou haſt neither part nor lot in this matter; 'thou art in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of 'iniquity:'[u] a diſmal ſentence. Beſides, it tends to luxury and riſes often out of it; for from having much they ſpend much, and ſo become poor by luxury: ſuch are covetous to get, to ſpend more, which temperance would prevent. For if men would not, or could not, by good laws well executed, and a better education, be ſo laviſh in their tables, houſes, furniture, apparel, and gaming, there would be no ſuch temptation to covet earneſtly after what they could not ſpend: for there is but here and there a miſer that loves money for money's ſake:

§. XIII. Which leads to the laſt and baſeſt part of covetouſneſs, which is yet the moſt ſordid: to wit, Hoarding up, or keeping money unprofitably, both to others and themſelves too. This is Solomon's miſer, 'that makes himſelf rich, and hath nothing:'[w] a great ſin in the ſight of God. He complained of ſuch, as had ſtored up the labours of the poor in their houſes; he calls it their ſpoils, and that it is a grinding of the poor, becauſe they ſee it not again.[x] But he bleſſeth thoſe that conſider the poor, and commandeth every one, 'to open freely to his brother that is in need:'[y] not only he that is ſpiritually, but naturally ſo; and, not to withhold his gift from the poor. The apoſtle chargeth Timothy in the ſight of God, and before Jeſus Chriſt, 'that he fail not to charge them that are rich 'in this world, that they truſt not in their uncertain 'riches, but in the living God, who giveth liberally; 'and that they do good with them, that they may be 'rich in good works.'[z] Riches are apt to corrupt; and that which keeps them ſweet and beſt, is charity: he that uſes them not, gets them not for the end for which they are given; but loves them for themſelves, and

[u] Acts viii 8 9 to 24 [w] Prov. xvii 7 [x] Iſa. iii 14 15
[y] Pſal. xli 1 Deut. xv 7 [z] 1 Tim. vi 17.

and not their ſervice. The avaricious is poor in his wealth; he wants for fear of ſpending; and increaſes his fear with his hope, which is his gain: and ſo tortures himſelf with his pleaſure: the moſt like to the man that hid his talent in a napkin, of all others; for this man's talents are hid in his bags out of ſight, in vaults, under boards, behind wainſcots; elſe upon bonds and mortgages, growing but as under ground; for it doth good to none.

§. XIV. This covetous man is a monſter in nature; for he has no bowels; and is like the poles, always cold. An enemy to the ſtate, for he ſpirits their money away. A diſeaſe to the body politic, for he obſtructs the circulation of the blood, and ought to be removed by a purge of the law: for theſe are vices at heart, that deſtroy by wholeſale. The covetous, he hates all uſeful arts and ſciences as vain, leſt they ſhould coſt him ſomething the learning: wherefore ingenuity has no more place in his mind, than in his pocket. He lets houſes fall, and highways poach, to prevent the charge of repairs; and for his ſpare diet, plain clothes, and mean furniture, he would place them to the account of moderation. O monſter of a man! that can take up the croſs for covetouſneſs, and not for Chriſt.

§. XV. But he pretends negatively to ſome religion too; for he always rails at prodigality, the better to cover his avarice. If you would beſtow a box of ſpikenard on a good man's head, to ſave money, and to ſhew righteous, he tells you of the poor: but if they come, he excuſes his want of charity with the unworthineſs of the object, or the cauſes of his poverty, or that he can beſtow his money upon thoſe that deſerve it better; who rarely opens his purſe till quarter-day, for fear of loſing it.

§. XVI. But he is more miſerable than the pooreſt; for he enjoys not what he yet fears to loſe; they fear not what they do not enjoy. Thus he is poor by overvaluing his wealth; but he is wretched, that hungers with money in a cook's ſhop: yet having made a god of his

his gold, who knows, but he thinks it unnatural to eat what he worſhips?

§. XVII. But which aggravates this ſin, I have myſelf once known ſome, that to get money, have wearied themſelves into the grave; and to be true to their principle, when ſick, would not ſpare a fee to a doctor to help the poor ſlave to live; and ſo died to ſave charges: a conſtancy that canonizes them martyrs for money.

§. XVIII. But now let us ſee what inſtances the ſcripture will give us in reproof of the ſordid hoarders and hiders of money. A good-like young man came to Chriſt, and inquired the way to eternal life: Chriſt told him he knew the commandments: he replied, he had kept them from his youth: (it ſeems he was no looſe perſon, and indeed ſuch are uſually not ſo, to ſave charges) 'and yet lackeſt thou one thing (ſaith Chriſt) 'ſell all, diſtribute it to the poor, and thou ſhalt have 'treaſure in heaven, and come and follow me.' It ſeems Chriſt pinched him in the ſore place; he hit the mark, and ſtruck him to the heart, who knew his heart: by this he tried how well he had kept the commandments, to love God above all. It is ſaid, the young man was very ſorrowful, and went his way: and the reaſon which is given, is, that he was very rich. The tides met, money and eternal life: contrary deſires: but which prevailed? alas! his riches. But what ſaid Chriſt to this? 'How hardly ſhall they that have 'riches enter into the kingdom of God?' He adds, 'It is eaſier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, 'than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of 'heaven:' that is, ſuch a rich man, to wit, a covetous rich man, to whom it is hard to do good with what he has: it is more than an ordinary miracle: O who then would be rich and covetous! It was upon theſe rich men that Chriſt pronounced his wo, ſaying, 'Wo unto 'you that are rich, for ye have received your conſola-'tion here:' What! none in the heavens? no, unleſs you become willing to be poor men, can reſign all, live looſe

looſe to the world, have it at arm's end, yea, underfoot, a ſervant, and not a maſter.

§. XIX. The other inſtance is a very diſmal one too: it is that of Ananias and Sapphira. In the beginning of apoſtolic times, it was cuſtomary for thoſe who received the word of life, to bring what ſubſtance they had, and lay it at the apoſtles feet: of theſe, Joſes, ſurnamed Barnabas, was exemplary. Among the reſt, Ananias and his wife Sapphira, confeſſing to the truth, ſold their poſſeſſion, but covetouſly reſerved ſome of the purchaſe-money from the common purſe to themſelves, and brought a part for the whole, and laid it at the apoſtles feet. But Peter, a plain and a bold man, in the majeſty of the Spirit, ſaid, 'Ananias, why hath 'Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghoſt; 'and to keep back part of the price of the land? 'whilſt it remained, was it not thine own? and after 'it was ſold, was it not in thine own power? why haſt 'thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou haſt 'not lied unto men, but unto God.' But what followed this covetouſneſs and hypocriſy of Ananias? why, Ananias hearing theſe words, 'he fell down, and 'gave up the ghoſt.' The like befel his wife, being privy to the deceit their avarice had led them to. And it is ſaid, that 'great fear came upon all the 'church, and thoſe that heard of theſe things:' and alſo ſhould on thoſe that now read them. For if this judgment was ſhewn and recorded, that we ſhould beware of the like evils, what will become of thoſe, that under the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, a religion that teaches men to live looſe from the world, and to yield up all to the will and ſervice of Chriſt and his kingdom, not only retain a part, but all; and cannot part with the leaſt thing for Chriſt's ſake. I beſeech God to incline the hearts of my readers to weigh theſe things. This had not befallen Ananias and Sapphira, if they had acted as in God's preſence, and with that entire love, truth, and ſincerity, that became them. O that people would uſe the light that Chriſt hath given them, to ſearch and ſee how far they are under the power of this

this iniquity? For would they but watch againſt the love of the world, and be leſs in bondage to the things that are ſeen, which are temporal, they would begin to ſet their hearts on things above, that are of an eternal nature. Their life would be hid with Chriſt in God, out of the reach of all the uncertainties of time, and troubles and changes of mortality. Nay, if people would but conſider how hardly riches are got, how uncertainly they are kept, the envy they bring; that they can neither make a man wiſe, nor cure diſeaſes, nor add to life, much leſs give peace in death: no, nor hardly yield any ſolid benefit above food and raiment (which may be had without them) and that if there be any good uſe for them, it is to relieve others in diſtreſs: being but ſtewards of the plentiful providences of God, and conſequently accountable for our ſtewardſhip, if, I ſay, theſe conſiderations had any room in our minds, we ſhould not thus poſt to get, nor care to hide and keep, ſuch a mean and impotent thing. O that the croſs of Chriſt (which is the ſpirit and Power of God in man) might have more place in the ſoul, that it might crucify us more and more to the world, and the world to us; that, like the days of paradiſe, the earth might again be the footſtool; and the treaſure of the earth a ſervant, and not a god, to man!—Many have writ againſt this vice: three I will mention.

§. XX. William Tindal, that worthy apoſtle of the Engliſh reformation, has an entire diſcourſe, to which I refer the reader, intitled, 'The Parable of the Wicked 'Mammon.' The next is—

§. XXI. Peter Charron (a famous Frenchman, and in particular for the book he wrote of Wiſdom) hath a chapter againſt covetouſneſs, part of which take as followeth; "To love and affect riches, is covetouſ-"neſs: not only the love and affection, but alſo every "over-curious care and induſtry about riches. The "deſire of goods, and the pleaſure we take in poſſeſſing "of them, is grounded only upon opinion: the im-"moderate deſire to get riches, is a gangrene in our "ſouls, which, with a venomous heat, conſumeth our "natural

" natural affections, to the end it might fill us with " virulent humours. So ſoon as it is lodged in our " hearts, all honeſt and natural affection, which we " owe either to our parents or friends, or ourſelves, " vaniſheth away; all the reſt, in reſpect of our " profit, ſeemeth nothing; yea, we forget in the end, " and condemn ourſelves, our bodies, our minds, for " this tranſitory traſh; and as our proverb is, We ſell " our horſe to get us hay. Covetouſneſs is the vile " and baſe paſſion of vulgar fools, who account riches " the principal good of a man, and fear poverty, as " the greateſt evil; and not contenting themſelves " with neceſſary means, which are forbidden no man, " weigh that is good in a goldſmith's balance, when " nature has taught us to meaſure it by the ell of ne- " ceſſity. For, what greater folly can there be, than " to adore that which nature itſelf hath put under our " feet, and hidden in the bowels of the earth, as un- " worthy to be ſeen: yea, rather to be contemned, " and trampled under foot! This is that which the " ſin of man hath only torn out of the entrails of the " earth, and brought unto light to kill himſelf. We " dig out the bowels of the earth, and bring to light " thoſe things, for which we would fight: We are not " aſhamed to eſteem thoſe things moſt highly, which " are in the loweſt parts of the earth. Nature ſeemeth " even in the firſt birth of gold, and the womb from " whence it proceedeth, after a ſort to have preſaged " the miſery of thoſe that are in love with it; for it " hath ſo ordered the matter, that in thoſe countries " where it groweth, there groweth with it neither " graſs, nor plant, nor other thing that is worth any " thing: as giving us to underſtand thereby, that in " thoſe minds where the deſire of this metal groweth, " there cannot remain ſo much as a ſpark of true " honour and virtue. For what thing can be more " baſe, than for a man to degrade, and to make him- " ſelf a ſervant and a ſlave to that which ſhould be " ſubject unto him? Riches ſerve wiſe men, but com- " mand a fool: for a covetous man ſerveth his riches,

" and

" and not they him: and he is ſaid to have goods as " he hath a fever, which holdeth and tyrannizeth over " a man, not he over it. What thing more vile, than " to love that which is not good, neither can make a " good man? yea, is common, and in the poſſeſſion " of the moſt wicked in the world: which many times " perverts good manners, but never amends them? " without which ſo many wiſe men have made them- " ſelves happy, and by which ſo many wicked men " have come to a wicked end. To be brief: what " thing more miſerable than to bind the living to the " dead, as Mezentius did, to the end their death might " be languiſhing, and the more cruel; to tie the ſpirit " unto the excrement and ſcum of the earth, to pierce " through his own ſoul with a thouſand torments, " which this amorous paſſion of riches brings with it; " and to entangle himſelf with the ties and cords of " this malignant thing, as the ſcripture calls them; " which doth likewiſe term them thorns and thieves, " which ſteal away the heart of man, ſnares of the " devil, idolatry, and the root of all evil. And truly, " he that ſhall ſee the catalogue of thoſe envies and " moleſtations, which riches engender into the heart of " man, as their proper thunder bolt and lightning, " they would be more hated than they are now loved. " Poverty wants many things, but covetouſneſs all: " a covetous man is good to none, and worſe to him- " ſelf." Thus much of Charron, a wiſe and great man. My next teſtimony is yielded by an author not unlikely to take with ſome ſort of people for his wit; may they equally value his morality, and the judgment of his riper time.

§. XXII. Abraham Cowley, a witty and ingenious man, yieldeth us the other teſtimony: of avarice he writeth us: " There are two ſorts of avarice: the one " is but a baſtard-kind, and that is a rapacious appe- " tite of gain; not for its own ſake, but for the " pleaſure of refunding it immediately through all the " channels of pride and luxury. The other is the " true kind, and properly ſo called, which is a reſtleſs

" and

" and unſatiable deſire of riches, not for any farther " end or uſe, but only to hoard and preſerve, and " perpetually increaſe them. The covetous man of " the firſt kind is like a greedy oſtrich, which devour- " eth any metal, but it is with an intent to feed upon it, " and in effect it maketh a ſhift to digeſt and exern " it. The ſecond is like the fooliſh chough, which " loveth to ſteal money only to hide it. The firſt " doth much harm to mankind, and a little good to " ſome few; the ſecond doth good to none, no, not to " himſelf. The firſt can make no excuſe to God or " angels, or rational men, for his actions: the ſecond " can give no reaſon or colour, not to the Devil him- " ſelf, for what he doth: he is a ſlave to Mammon " without wages. The firſt maketh a ſhift to be be- " loved, ay, and envied too, by ſome people: the ſe- " cond is the univerſal object of hatred and contempt. " There is no vice hath been ſo pelted with good ſen- " tences, and eſpecially by the poets, who have purſued " it with ſatires, and fables, and allegories, and allu- " ſions, and moved (as we ſay) every ſtone to fling " at it; among all which, I do not remember a more " fine correction, than that which was given it by one " line of Ovid's:

" ——————— Multa
" Luxuriæ deſunt, omnia avaritiæ.

" Which is, Much is wanting to luxury, all to avarice. " To which ſaying I have a mind to add one member, " and render it thus: Poverty wants ſome, luxury many, " avarice all things. Somebody ſaith of a virtuous and " wiſe man, that having nothing, he hath all. This is " juſt his antipode, who, having all things, yet hath " nothing.

" And oh! what man's condition can be worſe,
" Than his, whom plenty ſtarves, and bleſſings curſe?
" The beggars but a common fate deplore;
" The rich poor man's emphatically poor.

" I wonder how it cometh to paſs, that there hath " never been any law made againſt him: againſt him, " do I ſay? I mean, for him. As there are public

" proviſions made for all other mad-men, it is very " reaſonable that the king ſhould appoint ſome per- " ſons to manage his eſtate during his life (for his " heirs commonly need not that care) and out of it to " make it their buſineſs to ſee, that he ſhould not want " alimony befitting his condition; which he could " never get out of his own cruel fingers. We relieve " idle vagrants, and counterfeit beggars, but have no " care at all of theſe really poor men, who are, me- " thinks, to be reſpectfully treated, in regard of their " quality. I might be endleſs againſt them; but I " am almoſt choked with the ſuperabundance of the " matter. Too much plenty impoveriſheth me, as it " doth them." Thus much againſt avarice, that moth of the ſoul, and canker of the mind.

CHAP. XIV.

§. 1. Luxury, what it is, and the miſchief of it to mankind. An enemy to the croſs of Chriſt. §. 2. Of luxury in diet, how unlike Chriſt, and contrary to ſcripture. §. 3. The miſchief it does to the bodies, as well as minds of people. §. 4. Of luxury in the exceſs of apparel, and of recreations: that ſin brought the firſt coat: people not to be proud of the badge of their miſery. §. 5. The recreations of the times enemies to virtue: they riſe from degeneracy. §. 6. The end of clothes allowable; the abuſe reprehended. §. 7. The chiefeſt recreation of good men of old, was to ſerve God, and do good to mankind, and follow honeſt vocations, not vain ſports and paſtimes. §. 8. The heathens knew and did better things. The ſobriety of infidels above Chriſtians. §. 9. Luxury condemned in the caſe of Dives. §. 10. The doctrine of the ſcripture poſitively againſt a voluptuous life.

§. 1. I AM now come to the other extreme, and that is luxury, which is, An exceſſive indulgence of ſelf in eaſe and pleaſure. This is the laſt great impiety

piety ſtruck at in this diſcourſe of the holy croſs of Chriſt, which indeed is much of the ſubject of its mortifying virtue and power. A diſeaſe as epidemical as killing: it creeps into all ſtations and ranks of men; the pooreſt often exceeding their ability to indulge their appetite; and the rich frequently wallowing in thoſe things that pleaſe the luſts of their eye and fleſh, and the pride of life; as regardleſs of the ſevere diſcipline of Jeſus, whom they call Saviour, as if luxury, and not the croſs, were the ordained way to heaven. 'What 'ſhall we eat, what ſhall we drink, and what ſhall we 'put on?' once the care of luxurious Heathens, is now the practice, and (which is worſe) the ſtudy, of pretended Chriſtians. But let ſuch be aſhamed, and repent; remembering that Jeſus did not reproach the Gentiles for thoſe things, to indulge his followers in them. They that will have Chriſt to be theirs, muſt be ſure to be his, to be like-minded, to live in temperance and moderation, as knowing the Lord is at hand. Sumptuous apparel, rich unguents, delicate waſhes, ſtately furniture, coſtly cookery, and ſuch diverſions as balls, maſques, muſic-meetings, plays, romances, &c. which are the delight and entertainment of the times, belong not to the holy path that Jeſus and his true diſciples and followers trod to glory: no, 'through many 'tribulations (ſays none of the leaſt of them) muſt 'we enter into the kingdom of God.' I do earneſtly beſeech the gay and luxurious, into whoſe hands this diſcourſe ſhall be directed, to conſider well the reaſons and examples here advanced againſt their way of living; if haply they may come to ſee how remote it is from true Chriſtianity, and how dangerous to their eternal peace. God Almighty by his grace ſoften their hearts to inſtruction, and ſhed abroad his tender love in their ſouls, that they may be overcome to repentance, and to the love of the holy way of the croſs of Jeſus, the bleſſed Redeemer of men. For they cannot think that he can benefit them, while they refuſe to lay down their ſins for the love of him that laid down his life for the love of them; or that he will give them a place in heaven,

heaven, that refuſe him any in their hearts on earth. But let us examine luxury in all its parts.

§. II. Luxury has many parts; and the firſt that is forbidden by the ſelf-denying Jeſus, is the belly: 'Take no thought (ſays he to his diſciples) ſaying, 'what ſhall we eat, or what ſhall we drink?—for after 'theſe things do the Gentiles ſeek:'[a] as if he had ſaid, the uncircumciſed, the Heathen, ſuch as live without the true God, and make a god of their belly, whoſe care is to pleaſe their appetite, more than to ſeek God and his kingdom: you muſt not do ſo, but 'ſeek you firſt 'the kingdom of God, and his righteouſneſs, and all 'other things ſhall be added.' That which is convenient for you will follow: let every thing have its time and order.

This carries a ſerious reprehenſion to the luxurious eater and drinker, who is taken up with an exceſſive care of his palate and belly, what he ſhall eat, and what he ſhall drink: who being often at a loſs what to have next, therefore has an officer to invent, and a cook to dreſs, diſguiſe, and drown the ſpecies, that it may cheat the eye, look new and ſtrange; and all to excite an appetite, or raiſe an admiration. To be ſure there is great variety, and that curious and coſtly: the ſauce, it may be, dearer than the meat: and ſo full is he fed, that without it he can ſcarce find out a ſtomach; which is to force an hunger, rather than to ſatisfy it. And as he eats, ſo he drinks; rarely for thirſt, but pleaſure, to pleaſe his palate. For that purpoſe he will have divers ſorts, and he muſt taſte them all: one, however good, is dull and tireſome; variety is more delightful than the beſt; and therefore the whole world is little enough to fill his cellar. But were he temperate in his proportions, his variety might be imputed rather to curioſity than luxury. But what the temperate man uſes as a cordial, he drinks by full draughts, till, inflamed by exceſs, he is fitted to be an inſtrument of miſchief, if not to others, always to himſelf; whom perhaps

[a] Mat. vi 31 32.

perhaps at last he knows not: for such brutality are some come to, they will sip themselves out of their own knowledge. This is the lust of the flesh, that is not of the Father, but of the world; for upon this comes in the music and dance, and mirth, and the laughter which is madness,[b] that the noise of one pleasure may drown the iniquity of another, lest his own heart should deal too plainly with him. Thus the luxurious live; 'they 'forget God, they regard not the afflicted.' O that the sons and daughters of men would consider their wantonness and their iniquity in these things! How ill do they requite the goodness of God in the use and abuse of the plenty he yields them: how cruel are they to his creatures, how lavish of their lives and virtue, how thankless for them; forgetting the giver, and abusing the gift by their lusts; and despising counsel, and casting instruction behind them. They lose tenderness, and forget duty, being swallowed up of voluptuousness; adding one excess to another. God rebuked this sin in the Jews by the prophet Amos: 'Ye that put 'far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence 'to come near; and lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch 'themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs 'out of the flock, and the calves out of the stall; and 'chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to them-'selves instruments of music, like David: that drink 'wine in bowls and anoint themselves with the chief 'ointments: but they are not grieved for the affliction 'of Joseph.'[c]—These, it seems, were the vices of the degenerate Jews, under all their pretence to religion; and are they not of Christians at this day? Yea, they are; and these are the great parts of luxury struck at in this discourse. Remember Dives, with all his sumptuous fare, went to hell: and the apostle pronounces heavy woes upon those 'whose God is their belly;' for such 'glory in their shame.'[d]

Christ places these things to the courts of worldly kings, not his kingdom; making them unseemly in his followers:

[b] Eccl. ii 2 [c] Amos vi 3 4 5 6 [d] Phil. iii 19

followers; his feaſt therefore (which was his miracle) to the multitude, was plain and ſimple; enough, but without curioſity, or the art of cookery: and it went down well, for they were hungry; the beſt and fitteſt time to eat. And the apoſtle, in his directions to his much beloved Timothy, debaſes the lovers of worldly fulneſs; adviſing him to 'godlineſs and content, as 'the chiefeſt gain:' adding, 'and having food and 'raiment, let us therewith be content.'[e] Behold the abſtemious, and moſt contented life of thoſe royal pilgrims, the ſons of heaven, and immortal offspring of the great power of God; they were in faſts and perils often, and eat what was ſet before them; and in all conditions learnt to be contented. O bleſſed men! O bleſſed ſpirits! let my ſoul dwell with yours for ever!

§. III. But the diſeaſes which luxury begets and nouriſhes, make it an enemy to mankind: for beſides the miſchief it brings to the ſouls of people, it undermines health, and ſhortens the life of man, in that it gives but ill nouriſhment, and ſo leaves and feeds corrupt humours, whereby the body becomes rank and foul, lazy and ſcorbutic; unfit for exerciſe, and more for honeſt labour. The ſpirits being thus loaded with ill fleſh, and the mind effeminated, a man is made unactive, and ſo unuſeful in civil ſociety; for idleneſs follows luxury, as well as diſeaſes. Theſe are the burdens of the world, devourers of good things, ſelf-lovers, and ſo forgetters of God; but (which is ſad, and yet juſt) the end of thoſe that forget God, is to be 'turned into hell.'[f]

§. IV. But there is another part of luxury, which has great place with vain man and woman, and that is the gorgeouſneſs of apparel; one of the fooliſheſt, becauſe moſt coſtly, empty and unprofitable exceſſes people can well be guilty of. We are taught by the ſcriptures of truth to believe that ſin brought the firſt coat; and if conſent of writers be of force, it was as well without as

[e] 1 Tim. vi 6 7 8 9 10 11 [f] Pſal. ix 17.

as within: to those that so believe, I direct my discourse, because they, I am sure, are the generality. I say, if sin brought the first coat, poor Adam's offspring have little reason to be proud or curious in their clothes; for it seems their original was base, and the finery of them will neither make them noble, nor man innocent again.[g] But doubtless blessed was that time, when innocence, not ignorance, freed our first parents from such shifts: they were then naked and knew no shame; but sin made them ashamed to be longer naked. Since therefore guilt brought shame, and shame an apron and a coat, how very low are they fallen, that glory in their shame, that are proud of their fall! for so they are that use care and cost to trim and set off the very badge and livery of that lamentable lapse. It is all one, as for a man that had lost his nose by a scandalous distemper, to take pains to set out a false one, in such shape and splendor, as should give but the greater occasion for all to gaze upon him; as if he would tell them, he had lost his nose, for fear they should think he had not. But would a wise man be in love with a false nose, though ever so rich, and however finely made? Surely no, and shall people that call themselves Christians, shew so much love for clothes, as to neglect innocence, their first clothing? Doth it not shew what cost of time, pains, and money, people are at to set off their shame, with the greatest shew and solemnity of folly? is it not to delight in the effect of that cause, which they rather should lament? If a thief were to wear chains all his life, would their being gold, and well made, abate his infamy? to be sure his being choice of them would increase it. Why, this is the very case of the vain fashion-mongers of this shameless age; yet will they be Christians, judges in religion, saints, what not? O miserable state indeed! to be so blinded by the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, as to call shame decency, and to be curious and expensive about that which should be their humiliation.

And

[g] Gen. iii 21

And not only are they grown in love with these vanities, and thereby express how wide they are from primitive innocence; but it is notorious how many fashions have been and are invented on purpose to excite lust: which still puts them at a greater distance from a simple and harmless state, and enslaves their minds to base concupiscence.

§. V. Nor is it otherwise with recreations, as they call them; for these are nearly related. Man was made a noble, rational, grave creature: his pleasure stood in his duty, and his duty in obeying God; which was to love, fear, adore, and serve him; and in using the creation with true temperance and godly moderation; as knowing well that the Lord, his judge, was at hand, the inspector and rewarder of his works. In short, his happiness was in his communion with God; his error was to leave that conversation, and let his eyes wander abroad to gaze on transitory things. If the recreations of the age were as pleasant and necessary as they are said and made to be, unhappy then would Adam and Eve have been, that never knew them. But had they never fallen, and the world not been tainted by their folly and ill example; perhaps man had never known the necessity or use of many of these things. Sin gave them birth, as it did the other; they were afraid of the presence of the Lord, which was the joy of their innocency, when they had sinned; and then their minds wandered, sought other pleasures, and began to forget God; as he complained afterwards by the prophet Amos: 'They put far away the evil day: they eat the 'fat of the flock: they drink wine in bowls: they 'anoint themselves with the chief perfumes: they stretch 'themselves upon beds of ivory: they chant to the 'sound of the viol, and invent unto themselves in-'struments of music, like David, not heeding or re-'membering the afflictions and captivity of poor 'Joseph;'[h] him they wickedly sold, innocency was quite banished, and shame soon began to grow a custom till

[h] Amos vi 3 4 5 6.

till they were grown ſhameleſs in the imitation. And truly, it is now no leſs a ſhame to approach primitive innocence by modeſt plainneſs, than it was matter of ſhame to Adam that he loſt it, and became forced to tack fig-leaves for a covering. Wherefore in vain do men and women deck themſelves with ſpecious pretences to religion, and flatter their miſerable ſouls with the fair titles of Chriſtian, innocent, good, virtuous, and the like, while ſuch vanities and follies reign. Wherefore to you all, from the eternal God, I am bound to declare, 'you mock him that will not be mocked, and 'deceive yourſelves:'[i] ſuch intemperance muſt be denied, and you muſt know yourſelves changed, and more nearly approach to primitive purity, before you can be entitled to what you do but now uſurp; 'for 'none but thoſe who are led by the Spirit of God, are 'the children of God,'[k] which guides into all temperance and meekneſs.

§. VI. But the Chriſtian world (as it would be called) is juſtly reprovable, becauſe the very end of the firſt inſtitution of apparel is groſsly perverted. The utmoſt ſervice that clothes originally were deſigned for, when ſin had ſtripped them of their native innocence, was, as hath been ſaid, to cover their ſhame, therefore plain and modeſt: next, to fence out cold, therefore ſubſtantial: laſtly, to declare ſexes, therefore diſtinguiſhing. So that then neceſſity provoked to clothing, now pride and vain curioſity: in former times ſome benefit obliged, but now wantonneſs and pleaſure: then they minded them for covering, but now that is the leaſt part; their greedy eyes muſt be provided with gaudy ſuperfluities: as if they made their clothes for trimming, to be ſeen rather than worn: only for the ſake of other curioſities that muſt be tacked upon them, although they neither cover ſhame, fence from cold, nor diſtinguiſh ſexes; but ſignally diſplay their wanton, fantaſtic, full-fed minds, that have them.

[i] Gal. vi 7 [k] Rom. viii 14 Gal. v 24.

§. VII. Then the beſt recreations were to ſerve God, be juſt, follow their vocations, mind their flocks, do good, exerciſe their bodies in ſuch manner as was ſuitable to gravity, temperance and virtue; but now that word is extended to almoſt every folly that carries any appearance above open ſcandalous filth (deteſted of the very actors when they had done it); ſo much are men degenerated from Adam in his diſobedience; ſo much more confident and artificial are they grown in all impieties; yea, their minds, through cuſtom, are become ſo very inſenſible of the inconveniency that attends the like follies, that what was once mere neceſſity, a badge of ſhame, at beſt but a remedy, is now the delight, pleaſure, and recreation of the age. How ignoble is it! how ignominious and unworthy of a reaſonable creature; man which is endued with underſtanding fit to contemplate immortality, and made a companion (if not ſuperior) to angels, that he ſhould mind a little duſt; a few ſhameful rags; inventions of mere pride and luxury: toys, ſo apiſh and fantaſtic; entertainments ſo dull and earthly, that a rattle, a baby, a hobby horſe, a top, are by no means ſo fooliſh in a ſimple child, nor unworthy of his thoughts, as are ſuch inventions of the care and pleaſure of men. It is a mark of great ſtupidity, that ſuch vanities ſhould exerciſe the noble mind of man, and image of the great Creator of heaven and earth.

§. VIII. Of this many among the very Heathens of old had ſo clear a proſpect, that they deteſted all ſuch vanity; looking upon curioſity in apparel, and that variety of recreations now in vogue and eſteem with falſe Chriſtians, to be deſtructive of good manners, in that it more eaſily ſtole away the minds of people from ſobriety to wantonneſs, idleneſs, effeminacy, and made them only companions for the beaſt that periſhes: witneſs thoſe famous men, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtides, Cato, Seneca, Epictetus, &c. who placed true honour and ſatisfaction in nothing below virtue and immortality. Nay, ſuch are the remains of innocence among ſome Moors and Indians in our times, that they do

do not only traffic in a ſimple poſture, but if a Chriſtian (though he muſt be an odd one) fling out a filthy word, it is cuſtomary with them, by way of moral, to bring him water to purge his mouth. How much do the like virtues, and reaſonable inſtances, accuſe people profeſſing Chriſtianity, of groſs folly and intemperance? O that men and women had the fear of God before their eyes! and that they were ſo charitable to themſelves, as to remember whence they came, what they are doing, and to what they muſt return: that ſo, more noble, more virtuous, more rational and heavenly things might be the matters of their pleaſure and entertainment! that they would be once perſuaded to believe how inconſiſtent the folly, vanity, and converſation they are moſtly exerciſed in, really are with the true nobility of a reaſonable ſoul; and let that juſt principle, which taught the Heathens, teach them, leſt it be found more tolerable for Heathens than ſuch Chriſtians in the day of account! For if their ſhorter notions, and more imperfect ſenſe of things could yet diſcover ſo much vanity; if their degree of light condemned it, and they, in obedience thereunto, diſuſed it, doth not it behove Chriſtians much more? Chriſt came not to extinguiſh, no, but to improve that knowledge: and they who think they need do leſs now than before, had need to act better than they think. I conclude, that the faſhions and recreations now in repute are very abuſive of the end of man's creation; and that the inconveniences that attend them, as wantonneſs, idleneſs, prodigality, pride, luſt, reſpect of perſons (witneſs a plume of feathers, or a lace-coat, in a country village, whatever be the man that wears them) with the like fruits, are repugnant to the duty, reaſon, and true pleaſure of man, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with that wiſdom, knowledge, manhood, temperance, induſtry, which render man truly noble and good.

§. IX. Again, theſe things which have been hitherto condemned, have never been the converſation or practice of the holy men and women of old times, whom the ſcriptures recommend for holy examples, worthy of imitation

imitation. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were plain men, and princes, as graziers are, over their families and flocks. They were not solicitous of the vanities so much lived in by the people of this generation, for in all things they pleased God by faith. The first forsook his father's house, kindred, and country; a true type or figure of that self-denial all must know, that would have Abraham to their father. They must not think to live in those pleasures, fashions and customs they are called to leave; no, but part with all, in hopes of the great recompense of reward, 'and that 'better country which is eternal in the heavens.'[l] The prophets were generally poor mechanics; one a shepherd, another an herdsman, &c. They often cried out upon the full-fed, wanton Israelites to repent, to fear and dread the living God, to forsake the sins and vanities they lived in; but they never imitated them. John Baptist, the messenger of the Lord, who was sanctified in his mother's womb, preached his embassy to the world in a coat of camel's hair, a rough and homely garment. Nor can it be conceived that Jesus Christ himself was much better apparelled, who according to the flesh, was of poor descent, and in life of great plainness; insomuch that it was usual in way of derision to say, 'Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph a 'carpenter?'[m] And this Jesus tells his followers, that as for soft raiment, gorgeous apparel and delicacies, they were for king's courts: implying, that he and his followers were not to seek after those things; but seems thereby to express the great difference that was betwixt the lovers of the fashions and customs of the world, and those whom he had chosen out of it. And he did not only come in that mean and despicable manner himself, that he might stain the pride of all flesh, but therein became exemplary to his followers, what a self-denying life they must lead, if they would be his true disciples. Nay, he farther leaves it with them in a parable,

[l] Heb. xi Amos vii 15 16 [m] Luke i 15 Mat. iii 1 2 3 4 Mat. xiii 55 Mark vi 3 Luke vii 25.

parable, to the end that it might make the deeper impreſſion, and that they might ſee how inconſiſtent a pompous worldly-pleaſing life is with the kingdom he came to eſtabliſh and call men to the poſſeſſion of: and that is the remarkable ſtory of Dives; who is repreſented, firſt, as a rich man; next, as a voluptuous man in his rich apparel, his many diſhes, and his pack of dogs; and laſtly, as an uncharitable man, or one who was more concerned how to pleaſe the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, and fare ſumptuouſly every day, than to take compaſſion of poor Lazarus at his gate: no, his dogs were more pitiful and kind than he. But what was the doom of this jolly man, this great Dives? We read it was everlaſting torment; but that of Lazarus eternal joy with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God. In ſhort; Lazarus was a good man, the other a great man: the one poor and temperate, the other rich and luxurious: there are too many of them alive; and it were well, if his doom might awaken them to repentance.

§. X. Nor were the twelve apoſtles, the immediate meſſengers of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, other than poor men, one a fiſher-man, another a tent-maker; and he that was of the greateſt (though perhaps not the beſt employment) was a cuſtom-gatherer. So that it is very unlikely that any of them were followers of the faſhions of the world: nay, they were ſo far from it, that, as became the followers of Chriſt, they lived poor, afflicted, ſelf-denying lives; bidding the churches to walk as they had them for examples. And to ſhut up this particular, they gave this pathetical account of the holy women in former times, as an example of godly temperance, namely, that firſt they did expreſsly abſtain from gold, ſilver, braided hair, fine apparel, or ſuch like; and next, 'that their adornment was a 'meek and quiet ſpirit, and the hidden man of the 'heart, which are of great price with the Lord:' affirming, 'that ſuch as live in pleaſure, are dead whilſt 'they

'they live;'[n] for that the cares and pleasures of this life choke and destroy the seed of the kingdom, and quite hinder all progress in the hidden and divine life. Wherefore we find, that the holy men and women of former times were not accustomed to these pleasures and vain recreations; but having their minds set on things above, sought another kingdom; which consists in 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit; 'who having obtained a good report, entered into their 'eternal rest,'[o] therefore their works follow, and praise them in the gates.

CHAP. XV.

§. 1. The judgments of God denounced upon the Jews for their luxury; all ranks included. §. 2. Christ charges his disciples to have a care of the guilt of it: a supplication to the inhabitants of England. §. 3. Temperance pressed upon the churches by the apostles. §. 4. An exhortation to England to measure herself by that rule. §. 5. What Christian recreations are. §. 6. Who need other sports to pass away their time, are unfit for heaven and eternity. §. 7. Man has but a few days: they may be better bestowed: this doctrine is ungrateful to none that would be truly blessed. §. 8. Not only good is omitted by this luxurious life, but evil committed, as breach of marriage and love, loss of health and estate, &c. play-houses and stages most instrumental to this mischief. §. 9. How youth is by them inflamed to vanity: what mischief comes of revels, gamings, &c. Below the life of noble Heathens. §. 10. The true disciples of Jesus are mortified in these things: the pleasure and reward of a good employment of time.

§. 1. BUT

[n] Mat. iv 18 Mat. ix 9 Acts xviii 1 2 3 John xiii 5 1 Cor. iv 9 10 11 12 13 14 Phil. iii 17 1 Pet. ii 21 Jam. i 15 20 1 Pet. iii 4 5 1 Tim. v 6 Luke viii 14
[o] Heb. xii 2 14 15 16 Heb. iv 9 Rev. xiv 13.

§. I. BUT such excess in apparel and pleasure was not only forbid in scripture, but it was the ground of that lamentable message by the prophet Isaiah to the people of Israel: 'Moreover the Lord 'saith, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, 'and walk with stretched-forth necks and wanton eyes, 'walking and mincing as they go, and making a 'tinkling with their feet; therefore the Lord will 'smite with a scab the crown of the head of the 'daughters of Zion, and the Lord will discover their 'secret parts; in that day the Lord will take away the 'bravery of their tinkling ornaments, and their cauls '(or net-works, in the Hebrew) and their round tires 'like the moon; the chains and the bracelets, and 'the spangled ornaments; the bonnets, and the or-'naments of the legs, and the head-bands, and the 'tablets, and the ear-rings, the rings and nose jewels; 'the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and 'the wimples, and the crisping pins; the glasses, and 'the fine linen, and the hoods and the veils: and it 'shall come to pass, that instead of sweet smells, there 'shall be a stink; and instead of a girdle, a rent; and 'instead of well-set hair, baldness; and instead of a 'stomacher, a girding of sack-cloth, and burning in-'stead of beauty: thy men shall fall by the sword, and 'thy mighty in the war; and her gates shall lament 'and mourn, and she, being desolate, shall sit upon 'the ground.'[a] Behold, O vain and foolish inhabitants of England and Europe, your folly and your doom! Yet read the prophet Ezekiel's vision of miserable Tyre, what punishment her pride and pleasure brought upon her: and amongst many other circumstances these are some; 'These were thy merchants in all sorts of things; 'in blue clothes and broidered work, and in chests of 'rich apparel, emeralds, purple, fine linen, coral and 'agate, spices, with all precious stones and gold, horses, 'chariots, &c.' For which hear part of her doom, 'Thy

[a] Isa. iii 16 to 26.

'Thy riches and thy fairs, thy merchandize, and all 'thy company, which is in the midſt of thee, ſhall 'fall into the midſt of the ſea, in the day of thy ruin; 'and the inhabitants of the iſles ſhall be aſtoniſhed at 'thee, and their merchants hiſs at thee; thou ſhalt be 'a terror, and ſhalt be no more.'[b] Thus hath God declared his diſpleaſure againſt the luxury of this wanton world. Yet farther the prophet Zephaniah goes, for thus he ſpeaks: 'And it ſhall come to paſs, 'in the day of the Lord's ſacrifice, that I will puniſh 'the princes, and the king's children, and all ſuch as 'are clothed with ſtrange apparel.'[c] Of how evil conſequence was it in thoſe times, for the greateſt men to give themſelves the liberty of following the vain cuſtoms of other nations; or of changing the uſual end of clothes, or apparel, to gratify fooliſh curioſity!

§. II. This did the Lord Jeſus Chriſt expreſsly charge his diſciples not to be careful about; inſinuating that ſuch as were, could not be his diſciples: for, ſays he, 'Take no thought, ſaying, what ſhall we eat? or what 'ſhall we drink? or wherewithal ſhall we be clothed? '(for after all theſe things do the Gentiles ſeek) for 'your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of 'all theſe things; but ſeek ye firſt the kingdom of God, 'and his righteouſneſs, and all theſe things ſhall be 'added unto you.'[d] Under which of eating and drinking, and apparel, he comprehends all external things, whatſoever; and ſo much appears, as well becauſe they are oppoſed to the kingdom of God and his righteouſneſs, which are inviſible and heavenly things, as that thoſe very matters he enjoins them not to be careful about, are the moſt neceſſary, and the moſt innocent in themſelves. If then, in ſuch caſes, the minds of his diſciples were not to be ſolicitous, much leſs in fooliſh, ſuperſtitious, idle inventions, to gratify the carnal appetites and minds of men: ſo certain it is, that thoſe who live therein, are none of his followers, but the Gentiles; (and as he elſewhere ſays) 'the na-

'tions

[b] Ezek. xxvii [c] Zeph. i 8 [d] Mat. vi 31 32 33.

'tions of the world who knew not God.'[e] If then the diſtinguiſhing mark between the diſciples of Jeſus, and thoſe of the world, is, that one minds the things of heaven, and God's kingdom, that 'ſtands in 'righteouſneſs, peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt,'[f] (being not careful of external matters, even the moſt innocent and neceſſary) and that the other minds eating, drinking, apparel, and the affairs of the world, with the luſts, pleaſures, profits, and honours that belong to it; be you entreated for your ſouls ſakes, O inhabitants of England, to be ſerious, to reflect a while upon yourſelves, what care and coſt you are at, of time and money, about fooliſh, nay, vicious things: ſo far are you degenerated from the primitive Chriſtian life. What buying and ſelling, what dealing and chaffering, what writing and poſting, what toil and labour, what noiſe, hurry, buſtle, and confuſion, what ſtudy, what little contrivances and over-reachings, what eating, drinking, vanity of apparel, moſt ridiculous recreations; in ſhort, what riſing early, going to bed late, expenſe of precious time, is there about things that periſh? View the ſtreets, ſhops, exchanges, plays, parks, coffee-houſes, &c. And is not the world, this fading world, writ upon every face? Say not within yourſelves, How otherwiſe ſhould men live, and the world ſubſiſt? the common, though frivolous objection: there is enough for all; let ſome content themſelves with leſs: a few things plain and decent, ſerve a Chriſtian life. It is luſt, pride, avarice, that thruſt men upon ſuch folly: were God's kingdom more the exerciſe of their minds, theſe periſhing entertainments would have but little of their time or thoughts.

§. III. This ſelf-denying doctrine was confirmed and enforced by the apoſtles in their example, as we have already ſhewn: and in their precepts too, as we ſhall yet evince in thoſe two moſt remarkable paſſages of Paul and Peter where they do not only tell us what ſhould be done, but, alſo what ſhould be denied and

[e] Luke xii 22 to 36 [f] Rom. xiv 17

avoided. 'In like manner I will, that women adorn 'themſelves in modeſt apparel: (what is that?) with 'ſhame-facedneſs and ſobriety; not with broidered 'hair, or gold, or pearls, or coſtly array, [then it 'ſeems theſe are immodeſt] but, which becometh wo-'men profeſſing godlineſs, with good works:'[g] abſolutely implying, that thoſe who attire themſelves with gold, ſilver, broidered hair, pearls, coſtly array, cannot in ſo doing be women profeſſing godlineſs; making thoſe very things to be contrary to modeſty and what is good; and conſequently that they are evil, and unbecoming 'women profeſſing godlineſs.' To which the apoſtle Peter joins another precept after the like ſort, viz. 'Whoſe adorning, let it not be that outward 'adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, 'or of putting on of apparel: (what then?) but let it be 'the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not 'corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and 'quiet ſpirit, which is in the ſight of God of great 'price.' And as an inducement, he adds, 'for after 'this manner in the old time, the holy* women, who 'ſo truſted in God, adorned themſelves.' Which doth not only intimate, that both holy women were ſo adorned and that it behoves ſuch as would be holy, and truſt in the holy God, to be ſo adorned; but alſo, that they who uſed thoſe forbidden ornaments, were the women and people in all ages, that (for all their talk) 'were not holy, nor did truſt in God.' Such are ſo far from truſting in God, that the apoſtle Paul expreſsly ſays, that 'ſhe that liveth in pleaſure is dead '(to God) whilſt ſhe liveth:'[h] and the ſame apoſtle farther enjoined, 'that Chriſtians ſhould have their con-'verſation in heaven, and their minds fixed on things 'above: walk honeſtly as in the day, not in rioting and 'drunkenneſs, not in chambering and wantonneſs, not 'in envy and ſtrife: let not fornication, uncleanneſs, 'or

[g] 1 Tim. ii 9 10

* Note, not a word of men, as if this vanity belonged not to the ſex; let them obſerve that.

[h] 1 Tim. v 6

'or covetouſneſs be once named amongſt you; neither 'filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking or jeſting, which are not 'convenient; but rather giving of thanks: and let no 'corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, 'but that which is good, to the uſe of edifying, that it 'may adminiſter grace unto the hearers. But put ye on 'the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and make no proviſion for the 'fleſh, to fulfil the deſires thereof. And grieve not the 'Holy Spirit; (intimating ſuch converſation doth) but 'be ye followers of God, as dear children: walk circum-'ſpectly, not as fools, but as wiſe; redeeming the time, 'becauſe the days are evil.'[i]

§. IV. By this meaſure yourſelves, O inhabitants of this land, who think yourſelves wronged if not accounted Chriſtians: ſee what proportion your life and ſpirit bears with theſe moſt holy and ſelf-denying precepts and examples. Well, my friends, my ſoul mourns for you: I have been with and among you: your life and paſtime are not ſtrangers to my notice; and with compaſſion, yea, inexpreſſible pity, I bewail your folly. O that you would be wiſe! O that the juſt principle in yourſelves were heard! O that eternity had time to plead a little with you! Why ſhould your beds, your glaſſes, your clothes, your tables, your loves, your plays, your parks, your treats, your recreations (poor periſhing joys) have all your ſouls, your time, your care, your purſe, and conſideration? be ye admoniſhed, I beſeech you, in the name of the living God, by one that ſome of you know hath had his ſhare in theſe things, and conſequently time to know how little the like vanities conduce to true and ſolid happineſs. No, my friends, God Almighty knows (and would to God, you would believe and follow me) they end in ſhame and ſorrow. Faithful is that moſt Holy One, who hath determined, that every man and woman ſhall reap what they ſow: and will not trouble, anguiſh, and diſappointment, be a ſad

[i] Phil. iii 20 Col. iii 1 2 3 4 Rom. xiii 13 14 Eph. v 2 3 ch. iv 29 Rom. xiii 14 Eph. iv 30 ch. v 1 15 16.

ſad and dreadful harveſt for you to reap, for all your miſ-ſpent time, and ſubſtance about ſuperfluities and vain recreations? Retire then: quench not the Holy Spirit in yourſelves; redeem your precious abuſed time; frequent ſuch converſation as may help you againſt your evil inclinations; ſo ſhall you follow the examples, and keep the precepts of Jeſus Chriſt, and all his followers. For hitherto we have plainly demonſtrated, that no ſuch way of living, as is in requeſt among you of the land, ever was, or can be truly Chriſtian.

§. V. But the beſt recreation is to do good: and all Chriſtian cuſtoms tend to temperance, and ſome good and beneficial end; which more or leſs may be in every action. For inſtance: if men and women would be diligent to follow their reſpective callings, frequent the aſſemblies of religious people, viſit ſober neighbours to be edified, and wicked ones to reform them; be careful in the tuition of their children, exemplary to their ſervants, relieve the neceſſitous, ſee the ſick, viſit the impriſoned, adminiſter to their infirmities, and indiſpoſitions, endeavour peace amongſt neighbours: alſo ſtudy moderately ſuch commendable and profitable arts as navigation, arithmetic, geometry, huſbandry, gardening, handicraft, medicine, &c. And, that women ſpin, ſow, knit, weave, garden, preſerve, and the like houſewifely and honeſt employments (the practice of the greateſt and nobleſt matrons, and youth among the very Heathens) helping others, who for want are unable to keep ſervants, to eaſe them in their neceſſary affairs; often and private retirements from all worldly objects, to enjoy the Lord: ſecret and ſteady meditations on the divine life and heavenly inheritance: which to leave undone, and proſecute other things, under the notion of recreations, is accurſed luſt and damnable impiety. It is moſt vain in any to object, that they cannot do theſe always, and therefore, why may not they uſe theſe common diverſions? For I aſk, what would ſuch be at? what would they do? and what would

would they have? They that have trades, have not time enough to do the half of what hath been recommended. And as for those who have nothing to do, and indeed do nothing, which is worse, but sin, which is worst of all, here is variety of pleasant, of profitable, nay, of very honourable employments and diversions for them. Such can with great delight sit at a play, a ball, a masque, at cards dice, &c. drinking, revelling, feasting, and the like, an entire day; yea, turn night into day, and invert the very order of the creation, to humour their lusts. And were it not for eating and sleeping, it would be past a doubt, whether they would ever find time to cease from those vain and sinful pastimes, till the hasty calls of death should summon their appearance in another world. Yet do they think it intolerable, and hardly possible for any to sit so long at a profitable or religious exercise.

§. VI. But how do these think to pass their vast eternity away? 'for as the tree falls so it lies.'[k] Let none deceive themselves, nor mock their immortal souls, with a pleasant, but most false and pernicious dream, that they shall be changed by a constraining and irresistible power, just when their souls take leave of their bodies: no, no, my friends, 'what you sow, that 'shall you reap:'[l] if vanity, folly, visible delights, fading pleasures; no better shall you ever reap than corruption, sorrow, and the woful anguish of eternal disappointments. But alas! what is the reason that the cry is so common, Must we always doat on these things? why, most certainly, it is this, they know not what is the joy and peace of speaking and acting as in the presence of the most holy God: that passes such vain understandings, darkened with the glories and pleasures of the god of this world: whose religion is so many mumbled and ignorantly devout-said words, as they teach parrots; for if they were of those whose hearts are set on things above, and whose treasure is in heaven,

[k] Eccl. xi 3 [l] Gal. vi 4 to 9 Eph. v 6

heaven,[m] there would their minds inhabit, and their greateſt pleaſure conſtantly be: and ſuch who call that a burden, and ſeek to be refreſhed by ſuch paſtimes, as a play, a morrice-dance, a punchanello, a ball, a maſque, cards, dice, or the like, I am bold to affirm, they not only never knew the divine excellency of God, and his truth, but thereby declare themſelves moſt unfit for them in another world. For how is it poſſible that they can be delighted to eternity, with that ſatisfaction which is ſo tedious and irkſome for thirty or forty years; that for a ſupply of recreation to their minds, the little toys and fopperies of this periſhing world, muſt be brought into practice and requeſt? Surely, thoſe who are to reckon for every idle word, muſt not uſe ſports to paſs away that time, which they are commanded ſo diligently to redeem:[n] conſidering no leſs work is to be done, than making their 'calling and election 'ſure:' much leſs ſtudy to invent recreations for their vain minds, and ſpend the greateſt part of their days and months, and years therein, not allowing a quarter of that time towards the great concernment of their lives and ſouls, for which that time was given them.[p]

§. VII. There is but little need to drive away that, by fooliſh divertiſements, which flies away ſo ſwiftly of itſelf; and when once gone is never to be recalled. Plays, parks, balls, treats, romances, muſics, love-ſonnets, and the like, will be a very invalid plea for any other purpoſe than their condemnation, who are taken and delighted with them, at the revelation of the righteous judgment of God. O my friends! theſe were never invented, but by that mind which had firſt loſt the joy and raviſhing delights of God's holy preſence.[q] So that we conclude, firſt, that of thoſe many excellent employments already mentioned, as worthy to poſſeſs ſuch minds as are inclined to theſe vanities, there is ſtore enough of time, not only to take up their ſpare hours, but double ſo much, and that with great delight,

[m] Phil. iv 6 7 Eph. iv 18 19 20 Mat. xiii 8 9 Rom. x 2 [n] Mat. xii 18 Eph. v 1 [p] Phi. iii 14 2 Pet. ii 10 Col. iv 5 [q] 1 Tim. iv 5 to 11.

delight, diverſion, and profit, both to themſelves and others; were they but once weaned from vain and fruitleſs ſopperies, and did they but conſider, how great the ſatisfaction, and how certain the rewards are, which attend this, and the other life, for ſuch univerſal benefits and virtuous examples. The ſecond concluſion is, that what is alledged by me can be diſpleaſing and ungrateful to none, but ſuch as know not what it is to walk with God, to prepare for an eternal manſion, to have the mind exerciſed on heavenly and good things, to follow the examples of the holy men and women of former happy ages: ſuch as know not Chriſt's doctrine, life, death, and reſurrection, but only have their minds faſtened to the fleſh, and by the objects of it are allured, deceived, and miſerably ruined: and laſtly, that deſpiſe heaven, and the joys that are not ſeen, though eternal, for a few periſhing trifles that they do ſee, though they are decreed to paſs away. How theſe are baptized with Chriſt, into his holy life, cruel ſufferings, ſhameful death, and raiſed with him to immortal deſires, heavenly meditations, a divine new life, growing into the knowledge of heavenly myſteries, and all holineſs, even unto the meaſure of the ſtature of Jeſus Chriſt, the great example of all; how (I ſay) theſe reſemble moſt neceſſary Chriſtian qualifications, and what ſhare they have therein, let their conſciences tell them upon a ſerious inquiry in the cool of the day.[r]

§. VIII. But in the next place, ſuch attire and paſtimes do not only ſhew the exceeding worldlineſs of people's inclinations, and their very great ignorance of the divine joys, but by imitating theſe faſhions, and frequenting theſe places and diverſions, not only much good is omitted, but a certain door is opened to much evil to be committed. As firſt, precious time, that were worth a world on a dying bed, is loſt: money, that might be employed for ſome general good, vainly expended: pleaſure is taken in mere ſhame; luſts are gratified,

[r] Rom. vi 3 to 8 1 Cor. xii 13 Gal. iii 27 Col. ii 12 13. Eph. iii 12 13.

gratified, the minds of people alienated from heavenly things, and exercised about mere folly: pride taken in clothes, first given to cover nakedness, whereby the creature is neglected, and the noble creation of God disregarded, and men become acceptable by their trims, and the alamodeness of their dress and apparel: from whence respect to persons doth so naturally arise, that for any to deny it, is to affirm the sun shines not at noon-day: nothing being more notorious, than the cringing, scraping, firring, and madaming of persons, according to the gaudiness of their attire, which is detestable to God, and so absolutely forbidden in the scriptures, that to do it, is to break the whole law, and consequently to incur the punishment thereof. Next, what great holes do the like practices make in mens estates? how are their vocations neglected? young women deluded? the marriage-bed invaded? contentions and family-animosities begotten? partings of man and wife? disinheriting of children? dismissing of servants? On the other hand, servants made slaves, children disregarded, wives despised and shamefully abused, through the intemperance of their husbands; which either puts them upon the same extravagance, or, laying such cruel injustice to heart, they pine away their days in grief and misery.[f] But of all these wretched inventions, the play-houses, like so many hellish seminaries, do most perniciously conduce to these sad and miserable ends; where little besides frothy, wanton, if not directly obscene and profane humours, are represented; which are of notorious ill consequence upon the minds of most, especially the youth that frequent them. And thus it is that idle and debauched stagers are encouraged and maintained; than which scarcely a greater abomination can be thought on of that rank of impieties, as will anon particularly be shown; and truly, nothing but the excessive pleasure people take therein could blind their eyes from seeing it.

§. IX. But

[f] James ii 1 to 9.

§. IX. But laſtly, the grand indiſpoſition of mind in people to ſolid, ſerious, and heavenly meditations, by the almoſt continual as well as pleaſant rumination in their minds, of thoſe various adventures they have been entertained with, which in the more youthful can never miſs to inflame and animate their boiling and airy conſtitutions.[t] And in the reſt of the common recreations of balls, maſques, treats, cards, dice, &c. there are the like opportunities to promote the like evils. And yet farther; how many quarrels, animoſities, nay, murders too, as well as expenſe of eſtate and precious time, have been the immediate conſequences of the like practices? In ſhort, theſe were the ways of the Gentiles that knew not God,[u] but never the practice of them that feared him: nay, the more noble among the Heathens themſelves, namely Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Antiſthenes, Heraclitus, Zeno, Ariſtides, Cato, Tully, Epictetus, Seneca, &c. have left their diſguſt to theſe things upon record, as odious and deſtructive, not only of the honour of the immortal God, but of all good order and government, as leading into looſeneſs, idleneſs, ignorance and effeminacy, the great cankers, and bane of all ſtates and empires. But ſuch is the latitudinarian impudence of this age, that they canonize themſelves for ſaints, if not guilty of every Newgate-filth, and kennel-impiety. And the pretended innocency of theſe things ſteals away their minds from that which is better into the love of them: nay, it gives them confidence to plead for them, and by no means will they think the contrary: but why? becauſe it is a liberty that feeds the fleſh, and gratifies the luſtful eye and palate of poor mortality: wherefore they think it a laudable condition to be no better then the beaſt that eats and drinks but what his nature doth require, although the number is very ſmall of ſuch. So very exorbitant are men and women grown in this preſent age: for either they do believe their actions are to be ruled by their own wills;

[t] Job xxxv 13 [u] Eph. iv 17 to 25.

or elſe, at beſt, that not to be ſtained with the vileſt wickedneſs is matter of great boaſting: and indeed it is ſo, in a time when nothing is too wicked to be done. But certainly, it is a ſign of univerſal impiety, in a land, when not to be guilty of ſins, the very Heathens loathe, is to be virtuous, yes, and Chriſtian too, and that to no ſmall degree of reputation; a diſmal ſymptom to a country? But it is not to be greatly blinded, that thoſe we call infidels ſhould deteſt thoſe practices as infamous, which people, that call themſelves Chriſtians, cannot or will not ſee to be ſuch, but gild them over with the fair titles of ornaments, decency, recreation, and the like. Well, my friends, if there were no God, no heaven, no hell, no holy examples, no Jeſus Chriſt, in croſs, doctrine and life to be conformed unto; yet would charity to the poor, help to the needy, peace among neighbours, viſits to the ſick, care of the widow and fatherleſs,[w] with the reſt of thoſe temporal good offices already repeated, be a noble employment, and much more worthy of your expenſe and pains. Nor indeed is it to be conceived, that the way to glory is ſmoothed with ſuch variety of carnal pleaſures; for then conviction, a wounded ſpirit, a broken heart, a regenerate mind, in a word, immortality would prove as mere fictions as ſome make them, and others therefore think them: no, theſe practices are for ever to be extinguiſhed, and expelled all Chriſtian ſociety. For I affirm, that to one who internally knows God, and hath a ſenſe of his bleſſed preſence, all ſuch recreations are death: yea, more dangerouſly evil, and more apt to ſteal away the mind from the heavenly exerciſe, than groſſer impieties. For they are ſo big, they are plainly ſeen; ſo dirty, they are eaſily detected: which education and common temperance, as well as conſtitution in many, teach them to abhor; and if they ſhould be committed, they carry with them a proportional conviction. But theſe pretended

[w] Phil. iv 6 7 8 9 Job xxiv 12.

tended innocents, these supposed harmless satisfactions, are more surprizing, more destructive; for as they easily gain an admission by the senses, so the more they pretend to innocency, the more they secure the minds of people in the common use of them; till they become so insensible of their evil consequences, that with a mighty confidence they can plead for them.[x]

§. X. But as this is plainly not to deny themselves, but, on the contrary, to employ the vain inventions of carnal men and women to gratify the desire of the eye, the desire of the flesh, and the pride of life,[y] all which exercise the mind below the divine and only true pleasure, or else, tell me what does: so, be it known to such, that the Heavenly life, and Christian joys are of another kind, as hath already been expressed: nay, that the true disciples of the Lord Christ must be hereunto crucified, as to objects and employments that attract downwards, and that their affections should be raised to a more sublime and spiritual conversation, as to use this world, even in its most innocent enjoyments, as if they used it not. But if they take pleasure in any thing below, it should be in such good offices as before-mentioned; whereby a benefit may redound in some respect to others: in which God is honoured over all visible things, the nation relieved, the government bettered, themselves rendered exemplary of good, and thereby justly intitled to present happiness, a sweet memorial with posterity, as well as to a seat at his right hand, where there are joys and pleasures for ever: than which there can be nothing more honourable, nothing more certain, world without end.[z]

[x] Prov. xviii 14 Psal. li 17 Mat. v 4 Luke vi 25. Rom. ii 7 Psal. xl 8 Prov. xiii 21 Rom. vii 22 Heb. xi 13 14 15 16 Rom. i 25 to 39 Job i 4 [y] 1 John ii 15 16 17
[z] Job xxxvi 7 Psal v 12 Psal xxxvii 25 29 Prov. x 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

§. 1. Luxury ſhould not be uſed by Chriſtians, becauſe of its inconſiſtency with the Spirit of Chriſtianity. §. 2. The cup of which Chriſt's true diſciples drank. §. 3. O! who will drink of this cup? §. 4. An objection anſwered of the nature of God's kingdom, and what it ſtands in. §. 5. Of the frame of the ſpirit of Chriſt's followers.

§. 1. BUT the luxury oppoſed in this diſcourſe, ſhould not be allowed among Chriſtians, becauſe both that which invents it, delights in it, and pleads ſo ſtrongly for it, is inconſiſtent with the true Spirit of Chriſtianity; nor doth the very nature of the Chriſtian religion admit thereof. For therefore was it that immortality and eternal life were brought to light, that all the invented pleaſures of mortal life, in which the world lives, might be denied and relinquiſhed; and for this reaſon it is, that nothing leſs than immenſe rewards and eternal manſions are promiſed, that men and women might therefore be encouraged willingly to forſake the vanity and fleſhly ſatisfactions of the world, and encounter with boldneſs the ſhame and ſufferings they muſt expect to receive at the hand of, it may be, their neareſt intimates and relations.[a]

For if the Chriſtian religion had admitted the poſſeſſion of this world in any other ſenſe, than the ſimple and naked uſe of thoſe creatures really given of God for the neceſſity and convenience of the whole creation: for inſtance, did it allow all that pride, vanity, curioſity, pomp, exchange of apparel, honours, preferments, faſhions, and the cuſtomary recreations of the world, with whatever may delight and gratify their ſenſes; then what need of a daily croſs, a ſelf-denying life, 'working out ſalvation with fear and trembling,' ſeeking

[a] Luke xvi 15 John xv 17 18 19 ch. xvi 20 ch. xvii 15 16 17 Heb. xi 24 25 26 27 Rom. viii 19 2 Tim. iii 11 12 Heb. xii 1 2

ing the things that are above, having the treasure and heart in heaven, no idle talking, no vain jesting, but fearing and meditating all the day long, undergoing all reproach, scorn, hard usage, bitter mockings and cruel deaths? What need these things? and why should they be expected in order to that glorious immortality and eternal crown, if the vanity, pride, expense, idleness, concupiscence, envy, malice, and whole manner of living among the (called) Christians, were allowed by the Christian religion? No, certainly; but as the Lord Jesus Christ well knew in what foolish trifles and vain pleasures, as well as grosser impieties, the minds of men and women were fixed, and how much they were degenerated from the heavenly principle of life, into a lustful or unlawful seeking after the enjoyments of this perishing world, nay, inventing daily new satisfactions to gratify their carnal appetites, so did he not less foresee the difficulty that all would have to relinquish and forsake them at his call, and with what great unwillingness they would take their leave of them, and be weaned from them. Wherefore to induce them to it, he did not speak unto them in the language of the law, that they should have an earthly Canaan, great dignities, a numerous issue, a long life, and the like: no, rather the contrary, at least to take these things in their course;[b] but he speaks to them in a higher strain, namely, He assures them of a kingdom and a crown that are immortal, that neither time, cruelty, death, grave or hell, with all its instruments, shall ever be able to disappoint, or take away, from those that should believe and obey him. Farther, that they should be taken into that near alliance of loving friends, yea the intimate divine relation of dear brethren, and co-heirs with him of all celestial happiness, and a glorious immortality. Wherefore if it be recorded, that those who heard not Moses were to die, much more they who refuse to hear and obey the

[b] Mat. xvi 24 Luke ix 23 Phil. ii 12 Col. iii 1 2 Eph. v 4 5 Neh. xiii Pfal. cxii 1 Isa. xxviii 14 Pfal. cxix 97 Luke xviii 23 Heb. xi 16 ch. x 33 ch. xi 37 38

the precepts of this Great and Eternal Rewarder of all that diligently seek and follow him.[c]

§. II. And therefore it was that he was pleased to give us, in his own example, a taste of what his disciples must expect to drink deeply of, namely, the cup of self-denial, cruel trials, and most bitter afflictions: he came not to consecrate a way to the eternal rest through gold and silver, ribbons, laces, points, perfumes, costly clothes, curious trims, exact dresses, rich jewels, pleasant recreations, plays, treats, balls, masques, revels, romances, love-songs, and the like pastimes of the world: no, no alas! but by forsaking all such kind of entertainments, yea and sometimes more lawful enjoyments too: and cheerfully undergoing the loss of all on the one hand, and the reproach, ignominy, and the most cruel persecution from ungodly men on the other. He needed never to have wanted such variety of worldly pleasures, had they been suitable to the nature of his kingdom: for he was tempted, as are his followers, with no less bait than all the glories of the world:[d] but he that commanded to 'seek another country, and 'to lay up treasures in the heavens that fade not away,' and therefore charged them, never to be much inquisitive about what they should eat, drink, or put on, because (saith he) 'after these things the Gentiles, that 'knew not God, do seek;' (and Christians that pretend to know him too) 'but, having food and rai-'ment, therewith be content:' he, I say, that enjoined this doctrine, and led that holy and heavenly example, even the Lord Jesus Christ, bad them, that would be his disciples, 'take up the same cross, and follow 'him.'[e]

§. III. O who will follow him? Who will be true Christians? we must not think to steer another course, nor

[c] Luke vi 20 ch. xii 32 ch. xxii 29 Col. i 13 1 Thess. ii 12 Heb. xii 28 Jam. ii 5 John xv 14 15 Rom. viii 17 Heb. ii 11 ch. xii 2 1 Pet. ii 21 Luke xii 29 to 31 2 Tim. v 6 Mat. xix 27 28 29 Luke vi 22 John xv 10 [d] Mat. x 37 38 Luke xii 32 33 34 35 36 [e] Mat. xvi 19 20 31 32 33 1 Tim. vi 6 to 11 Mat. viii 31 to 39.

nor to drink of another cup than hath the Captain of our salvation done before us :[f] no, for it is the very question he asked James and John, the sons of Zebedee of old, when they desired to sit at his right and left hand in his kingdom, 'Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall 'drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I 'am baptized withal ?'[g] otherwise no disciples, no Christians. Whoever they are that would come to Christ, and be right Christians, must readily abandon every delight that would steal away the affections of the mind, and exercise it from the divine principle of life, and freely write a bill of divorce for every beloved vanity; and all, under the Sun of righteousness, is so, compared with him.

§. IV. But some are ready to object (who will not seem to want scripture for their lusts, although it be evidently misapplied) 'The kingdom of God stands not in meats, 'or in drinks, or in apparel,' &c. Answ. Right; therefore it is that we stand out of them. But surely, you have the least reason of any to object this to us, who make those things so necessary to conversation, as our not conforming to them renders us obnoxious to your reproach; which how Christian, or resembling it is of the righteousness, peace, and joy in which the heavenly kingdom stands, let the just principle in your own consciences determine. Our conversation stands in temperance, and that stands in righteousness, by which we have obtained that kingdom your latitude and excess have no share or interest in. If none therefore can be true disciples, but they that come to bear the daily cross, and that none bear the cross, but those who follow the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, through his baptism and afflictions and temptations; and that none are so baptized with him, but those whose minds are retired from the vanities in which the generality of the world live, and become obedient to the holy light and divine grace, with which they have been enlightened from on high, and thereby are daily exercised to the crucify-

[f] Heb. ii 10 [g] Mat. xx 22 23

crucifying of every contrary affection, and bringing of immortality to light; if none are true disciples but such (as most undoubtedly they are not) then let the people of these days a little soberly reflect upon themselves, and they will conclude, that none who live and delight in these vain customs, and this un-christ-like conversation, can be true Christians, or disciples of the crucified Jesus:[h] for otherwise, how would it be a cross? or the Christian life matter of difficulty and reproach? No, the offence of the cross would soon cease, which is the power of God to them that believe; that every lust and vanity may be subdued, and the creature brought into an holy subjection of mind to the heavenly will of its Creator.[i] For therefore has it been said, that Jesus Christ was and is manifested, that by his holy, self-denying life and doctrine, he might put a baffle upon the proud minds of men, and by the immortality he brought, and daily brings to light, he might stain the glory of their fading rests and pleasures;[k] that having their minds weaned from them, and being crucified thereunto, they might seek another country, and obtain an everlasting inheritance: 'for the things that are seen are temporal'[l] (and those they were, and all true Christians are, to be redeemed from resting in) but the things that are 'not 'seen are eternal;' those they were, and all are to be, brought to, and have their affections chiefly fixed upon.[m]

§. V. Wherefore a true disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ is to have his mind so conversant about heavenly things, that the things of this world may be used as if they were not: that having such things as are 'ne-'cessary and convenient, he be therewith content,'[n] without the superfluity of the world, whereby the pleasure, that in times of ignorance was taken in the customs and fashions of the world, may more abundantly be supplied in the hidden and heavenly life of Jesus: for

[h] Rom. vi 3 4 5 6 Phil. iii 10 1 Pet. iv 13 Tit. ii 11 12 13 John i 9 Rom. vi 6 Gal. ii 20 ch. v 24 ch. vi 4 2 Tim. i 10 [i] Gal. v 11 1 Cor. i 17 18 [k] Ver. 27 28 29 [l] Heb. iv 1 to 12 [m] 2 Cor. iv 1 7 8 [n] 1 Tim. vi 8.

for unleſs there be an abiding in Chriſt, it will be impoſſible to bring forth that much fruit which he requires at the hands of his followers, and wherein his Father is glorified. But as it is clear that ſuch as live in the vanities, pleaſures, recreations, and luſts of the world, abide not in him, neither know him (for they that know him, depart from iniquity) ſo is their abiding and delighting in thoſe bewitching follies, the very reaſon why they are ſo ignorant and inſenſible of him: 'Him who continually ſtands knocking at the door of 'their hearts,[p] in whom they ought to abide, and whoſe divine power they ſhould know to be the croſs on which every beloved luſt and alluring vanity ſhould be ſlain and crucified; that ſo they might feel the heavenly life to ſpring up in their hearts, and themſelves to be quickened to ſeek the things that are above; 'that when 'Chriſt ſhall appear, they might appear with him in 'glory, who is over all, God bleſſed for ever. Amen.'[q]

CHAP. XVII.

§. 1. The cuſtoms, faſhions, &c. which make up the attire and pleaſure of the age, are enemies to inward retirement. §. 2. Their end is to gratify luſt. §. 3. Had they been ſolid, Adam and Eve had not been happy, that never had them. §. 4. But the confidence and preſumption of Chriſtians (as they would be called) in the uſe of them, is abominable. §. 5. Their authors farther condemn them, who are uſually looſe and vain people. §. 6. Moſtly borrowed of the Gentiles, that knew not God. §. 7. An objection of their uſefulneſs conſidered and anſwered, and the objectors reproved. §. 8. The beſt Heathens abhorring what pretended Chriſtians plead for. §. 9. The uſe of theſe things encourages the authors and makers of them to continue in them. §. 10. The objection of

[p] Rom. v 6 7 8 John xv 8 Rev. iii 20 [q] Col iii 1 2 3 4 Rom. ix 5.

the maintainance of families anſwered. None muſt do evil, that good ſhould follow: but better employs may be found more ſerviceable to the world. §. 11. Another objection anſwered: God no author of their inventions, and ſo not excuſable by his inſtitution. §. 12. People pleading for theſe vanities, ſhew what they are. An exhortation to be weighty and conſiderate. A great part of the way to true diſcipleſhip is, to abandon this ſchool and ſhop of Satan.

§. I. NEXT, thoſe cuſtoms and faſhions, which make up the common attire and converſation of the times, do eminently obſtruct the inward retirement of people's minds, by which they may come to behold the glories of immortality: who inſtead of 'fearing their 'Creator in the days of their youth, and ſeeking the 'kingdom of God in the firſt place'[a] (expecting the addition of ſuch other things as may be neceſſary and convenient, according to the injunctions of God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt) as ſoon as they can do any thing, they look after pride, vanity, and that converſation which is moſt delightful to the fleſh, which becomes their moſt delightful entertainment: all which do but evidently beget luſtful conceptions, and inflame to inordinate thoughts, wanton diſcourſes, laſcivious treats, if not at laſt to wicked actions. To ſuch it is tedious and offenſive to ſpeak of heaven, or another life: bid them reflect upon their actions, not grieve the Holy Spirit, conſider of an eternal doom, prepare for judgment;[b] and the beſt return that is uſual, is reproachful jeſts, profane repartees, if not direct blows. Their thoughts are otherwiſe employed: their mornings are too ſhort for them to waſh, to ſmooth, to paint, to patch, to braid, to curl, to gum, to powder, and otherwiſe to attire and adorn themſelves; whilſt their afternoons are as commonly beſpoke for viſits, and for

[a] Eccl. xii 1 Luke xii 29 30 31 [b] Eccl. iv 8 2 Tim. ii 16 21 22 Eph. iv 30 Jer. xviii 18 19 20 ch. xx 10.

for plays; where their usual entertainments are some stories fetched from the more approved romance; some strange adventures, some passionate amours, unkind refusals, grand impediments, importunate addresses, miserable disappointments, wonderful surprizes, unexpected encounters, castles surprized, imprisoned lovers rescued, and meetings of supposed dead ones; bloody duels, languishing voices echoing from solitary groves, overheard mournful complaints, deep-fetched sighs sent from wild deserts, intrigues managed with unheard-of subtlety: and whilst all things seem at the greatest distance, then are people alive, enemies friends, despair turned to enjoyment, and all their impossibilities reconciled; things that never were, are not nor ever shall or can be, they all come to pass.[c] And as if men and women were too slow to answer the loose suggestions of corrupt nature; or were too intent on more divine speculation and heavenly affairs, they have all that is possible for the most extravagant wits to invent, not only express lies, but utterly impossibilities to very nature, on purpose to excite their minds to those idle passions, and intoxicate their giddy fancies with swelling nothings, but airy fictions; which not only consume their time, effeminate their natures, debase their reason, and set them on work to reduce these things to practice, and make each adventure theirs by imitation; but if disappointed, as who can otherwise expect from such mere phantasms, the present remedy is latitude to the greatest vice. And yet these are some of their most innocent recreations, which are the very gins of Satan to insnare people; contrived most agreeable to their weakness, and in a more insensible manner mastering their affections, by entertainments most taking to their senses. In such occasions it is that their hearts breed vanity, their eyes turn interpreters to their thoughts, and their looks do whisper the

[c] Tit. ii 3 4 5 Eph. v 3 4 1 Tim. iv 2 1 Tim. iv 4 Psal. xii 2 Eccl. i 11 17 ch. vi 9 Isa. v 12 ch. xiv 29 ch. lix 3 4.

the secret inflammations of their intemperate minds; wandering so long abroad, till their lascivious actings bring night home, and load their minds and reputations with lust and infamy.[d]

§. II. Here is the end of all their fashions and recreations, 'to gratify the lust of the eye, the lust of the 'flesh and the pride of life:'[e] clothes, that were given to cover shame, now want a covering for their shameful excess; and that which should remember men of lost innocency, they pride and glory in: but the hundredth part of these things cost man the loss of paradise, that now make up the agreeable recreation, ay the accomplishment of the times. For as it was Adam's fault to seek a satisfaction to himself, other than what God ordained; so it is the exercise, pleasure, and perfection of the age, to spend the greatest portion of their time in vanities, which is so far from the end of their creation, namely, a divine life, that they are destructive of it.[f]

§. III. Were the pleasures of the age true and solid, Adam and Eve had been miserable in their innocency, who knew them not: but as it was once their happiness not to know them in any degree, so it is theirs, that know Christ indeed, to be by his eternal power redeemed and raised to the love of immortality: which is yet a mystery to those who live and have pleasure in their curious trims, rich and changeable apparel, nicety of dress, invention and imitation of fashions, costly attire, mincing gaits, wanton looks, romances, plays, treats, balls, feasts, and the like conversation in request: for as these had never been, if man had staid at home with his Creator, and given the entire exercise of his mind to the noble ends of his creation; so certain it is, that the use of these vanities is not only a sign that men and women are yet ignorant of their true rest and pleasure, but it greatly obstructs and hinders the retirement of their minds, and their serious inquiry after

[d] Prov. vii 10 to 21 [e] 1 John ii 15 16 [f] Eccl. xii 1

after those things that are eternal.[g] O, that there should be so much noise, clutter, invention, traffic, curiosity, diligence, pains and vast expense of time and estate, to please and gratify poor vain mortality! and that the soul, the very image of divinity itself, should have so little of their consideration! What, O what more pregnant instances and evident tokens can be given, that it is the body, the senses, the case, a little flesh and bone covered with skin, the toys, fopperies, and very vanities of this mortal life and perishing world, that please, that take, that gain them; on which they doat; and think they never have too much time, love or money to bestow upon them.

§. IV. Thus are their minds employed, and so vain are they in their imaginations, and dark in their understandings, that they not only believe them innocent, but persuade themselves they are good Christians all this while and to rebuke them is worse than heresy. Thus are they strangers to the hidden life; and by these things are they diverted from all serious examination of themselves; and a little by-rote babble, with a forced zeal of half an hour's talk in other men's words, which they have nothing to do with, is made sufficient; being no more their states, or at least their intention, as their works shew, than was it the young man's in the gospel, that said, 'he would go, and did not.'[h] But alas! why? Oh, there are other guests! What are they? Pharamond, Cleopatra, Cassandra, Clelia; a play, a ball, a spring-garden; the park, the gallant, the exchange; in a word, the World. These stay, these call, these are importunate, and these they attend, and these are their most familiar associates. Thus are their hearts captivated from the divine exercise; nay, from such external affairs as immediately concern some benefit to them-

[g] Eph. ii. 1 to 5 Col. ii 13 1 Pet. i 14 15 16 17 18 Tit. ii 11 12 Jam. v 5 Mat. vii 17 18 19 Rom. viii 8 Mat. xvi 26 1 Cor. vi 13 Job xxxv 15 Isa. xl 6 1 Pet. i 24 [h] Luke viii 14 Prov. i 25 30 ch. x 17 ch. xii 1 ch. xv. 15 Isa. lviii 1 2 to 10 Jer. xvi 19 20 21 2 Tim. iii 4 Mat. vi 7

themſelves, or needy neighbours; pleaſing themſelves with the received ideas of thoſe toys and fopperies into their looſe and airy minds: and if in all things they cannot practiſe them, becauſe they want the means of it, yet as much as may be, at leaſt to doat upon them, be taken with them, and willingly ſuffer their thoughts to be hurried after them. All which greatly indiſpoſes the minds, and diſtracts the ſouls of people from the divine life and principle of the holy Jeſus: but, as it hath been often ſaid, more eſpecially the minds of the younger ſort, to whom the like divertiſements (where their inclinations being preſented with what is very ſuitable to them, they become excited to more vanity, than ever they thought upon before) are incomparably dearer than all that can be ſaid of God's fear, a retired life, eternal rewards, and joys unſpeakable and full of glory: ſo vain, ſo blind, and ſo very inſenſible are men and women of what truly makes a diſciple of Chriſt![i] O! that they would ponder on theſe things, and watch againſt, and out of all theſe vanities, for the coming of the Lord, leſt being unprepared, and taken up with other gueſts, they enter not into his everlaſting reſt.[k]

§. V. That which farther manifeſts the unlawfulneſs of theſe numerous faſhions and recreations is, that they are either the inventions of vain, idle and wanton minds to gratify their own ſenſualities, and raiſe the like wicked curioſity in others to imitate the ſame: by which nothing but luſt and folly are promoted: or the contrivances of indigent and impoveriſhed wits, who make it the next way for their maintenance, in both which reſpects, and upon both which conſiderations, they ought to be deteſted. For the firſt licenſes expreſs impiety; and the latter countenances a wretched way of livelihood, and conſequently diverts from more lawful, more ſerviceable, and more neceſſary employments. That ſuch perſons are both the inventors and actors of all

[i] Iſa. lix 4 Jer. ii 5 Eccl. xi 10 [k] Rom. xiii 11 12 Mat. xv 7 to 14

all these follies, cannot be difficult to demonstrate: for were it possible, that any one could bring us father Adam's girdle, and mother Eve's apron, what laughing, what fleering, what mocking of their homely fashion would there be? surely their taylor would find but little custom, although we read, it was God himself 'that 'made them coats of skins.'[l] The like may be asked of all the other vanities, concerning the holy men and women through all the generations of holy writ. How many pieces of riband, and what feathers, lace-bands, and the like, did Adam and Eve wear in paradise, or out of it? What rich embroideries, silks, points, &c. had Abel, Enoch, Noah, and good old Abraham? Did Eve, Sarah, Susannah, Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary use to curl, powder, patch, paint, wear false locks of strange colours, rich points, trimmings, laced gowns, embroidered petticoats, shoes with slipslaps laced with silk or silver lace, and ruffled like pidgeons feet, with several yards, if not pieces of ribands? How many plays did Jesus Christ and his apostles recreate themselves at? What poets, romances, comedies, and the like, did the apostles and saints make, or use to pass away their time withal? I know they bid all 'redeem their time, to 'avoid foolish talking, vain jesting, profane babblings, 'and fabulous stories; as what tend to ungodliness; 'and rather to watch, to work out their salvation with 'fear and trembling, to flee foolish and youthful lusts, 'and to follow righteousness, peace, goodness, love, 'charity: and to mind the things that are above, as 'they would have honour, glory, immortality and eter-'nal life.'[m]

§. VI. But if I were asked, Whence came they then? I could quickly answer, From the Gentiles, that knew not God; (for some amongst them detested them, as will be shewn) they were the pleasures of an effeminate Sardanapalus, a fantastic Miracles, a comical Aristophanes,

[l] Gen. iii 21 [m] Eph. v 1 2 3 4 5 15 16 2 Tim. ii 16 22 Mat. xxv 13 Phil. ii 12 13 Col. iii 1 2 3 Rom. ii 6 7.

phanes, a prodigal Charaxus, a luxurious Ariſtippus; and the practices of ſuch women as the infamous Clytemneſtra, the painted Jezebel, the laſcivious Campaſpe, the immodeſt Poſthumia, the coſtly Corinthian Lais, and moſt impudent Flora, the wanton Egyptian Cleopatra, and moſt inſatiable Meſſalina: perſons whoſe memories have ſtunk through all ages, and that carry with them a perpetual rot: theſe, and not the holy ſelf-denying men and women, in ancient times, were devoted to the like recreations and vain delights. Nay, the more ſober of the very Heathens themſelves, and that upon a principle of great virtue, as is by all confeſſed, deteſted the like folly, and wanton practices. There is none of them to be found in Plato, or in Seneca's works: Pythagoras, Socrates, Phocion, Zeno, &c. did not accuſtom themſelves to theſe entertainments. The virtuous Penelope, the chaſte Lucretia, the grave Cornelia, and modeſt Pontia, with many others, could find themſelves employment enough amongſt their children, ſervants and neighbours: they, though nobles, next their devotion, delighted moſt in ſpinning, weaving, gardening, needle-work, and ſuch like good houſewifery, and commendable entertainment: who, though called Heathens, expreſſed much more Chriſtianity in all their actions, than do the wanton, fooliſh people of this age, who notwithſtanding will be called Chriſtians. But above all, you playmongers, whence think you came your ſo paſſionately beloved comedies? than which, as there is not any one diverſion, that is more pernicious, ſo not one more in eſteem and fondly frequented: Why, I will tell you. Their great grand-father was an Heathen, and that not of the beſt ſort: his name was Epicharmus. It is true, he is called a philoſopher, or a lover of wiſdom; but he was only ſo by name, and no more one in reality than the comedians of theſe times are true Chriſtians. It is reported of him by Suidas, a Greek hiſtorian, that he was the firſt man who invented comedies; and by the help of one Phormus, he made alſo fifty fables. But would you know his country, and the reaſon of his invention?

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His country was Syracuſe, the chief city in Sicily, famous for the infamy of many tyrants; to pleaſe and gratify the luſts of ſome of whom, he ſet his wits to work. And do not you think this an ill original? and is it leſs in any one to imitate or juſtify the ſame, ſince the more ſober Heathens have themſelves condemned them? nay, is it not abominable, when ſuch as call themſelves Chriſtians do both imitate and juſtify the like inventions? Nor had the melancholy tragedies a better parentage, namely, one Theſpis, an Athenian poet; to whom they alſo do aſcribe the original of that impudent cuſtom of painting faces, and the counterfeit or repreſentation of other perſons by change of habit, humours, &c. all which are now ſo much in uſe and reputation with the great ones of the times. To theſe let me add that poetical amoroſo, whom an inordinate paſſion of love firſt tranſported to thoſe poetical raptures of admiration (indeed ſordid effeminacy, if not idolatry); they call him Alcman, or Alcina, a Lydian; he, being exceedingly in love with a young woman of his own country, is ſaid to have been the firſt perſon that gave the world a ſight of that kind of folly, namely, love-ſtories and verſes, which have been ſo diligently imitated by almoſt all nations ever ſince in their romances.

§. VII. I know that ſome will ſay, But we have many comedies and tragedies, ſonnets, catches, &c. that are on purpoſe to reprehend vice, from whence we learn many commendable things. Though this be ſhameful, yet many have been wont, for want of ſhame or underſtanding, or both, to return me this for anſwer. Now I readily ſhall confeſs, that it was the next remedy amongſt the Heathens, againſt the common vices, to the more grave and moral lectures of their philoſophers of which number I ſhall inſtance two: Euripides, whom Suidas calls a learned tragical poet, and Eupolis, whom the ſame hiſtorian calls a comical poet. The firſt was a man ſo chaſte, and therefore ſo unlike thoſe of our days, that he was called Μισογυνης, or one that hated women, that is, wanton ones, for otherwiſe he was twice married: the other he characters as a moſt ſevere repre-

reprehender of faults. From which I gather, that their deſign was not to feed the idle, lazy fancies of people, nor merely to get money; but ſince by the means of looſe wits, the people had been debauched, their work was to reclaim them, rendering vice ridiculous, and turning wit againſt wickedneſs. And this appears the rather, from the deſcription given, as alſo that Euripides was ſuppoſed to have been torn in pieces by wanton women; which doubtleſs was for declaiming againſt their impudence; and the other being ſlain in the battle betwixt the Athenians and Lacedemonians, was ſo regretted, that a law was made, that never after ſuch poets ſhould be allowed to bear arms; doubtleſs it was becauſe in loſing him, they loſt a reprover of vice. So that the end of the approved comedians and tragedians of thoſe times was but to reform the people, by making ſin odious: and that not ſo much by a rational and argumentative way, uſual with their philoſophers, as by ſharp jeers, ſevere reflections, and rendering their vicious actions ſhameful, ridiculous, and deteſtable; ſo that for reputation ſake they might not longer be guilty of them: which to me is but a little ſofter than a whip, or a Bridewell. Now if you that plead for them, will be contented to be accounted Heathens, and thoſe of the more diſſolute and wicked ſort too, that will ſooner be jeered than argued out of your ſins, we ſhall acknowledge to you, that ſuch comedies and tragedies as theſe may be ſerviceable: but then for ſhame, abuſe not the name of Jeſus Chriſt ſo impudently, as to call yourſelves Chriſtians, whoſe luſts are ſo ſtrong, that you are forced to uſe the low ſhifts of Heathens to repel them: to leave their evils not for the love of virtue, but out of fear, ſhame, or reputation. Is this your love to Jeſus? your reverence to the ſcriptures, that through faith are able to make the 'man of God perfect?' Is all your prattle about ordinances, prayers, ſacraments, chriſtianity, and the like come to this: that at laſt you muſt betake yourſelves to ſuch inſtructors, as were by the ſober Heathens permitted to reclaim the moſt vicious of the people that were

were amongſt them? and ſuch remedies too, as below which there is nothing but corporal puniſhment?

§. VIII. This is ſo far from Chriſtianity, that many of the nobler Heathens, men and women, were better taught and better diſpoſed; they found out more heavenly contemplations, and ſubjects of an eternal nature to meditate upon. Nay, ſo far did they outſtrip the Chriſtians of theſe times, that they not only were exemplary by their grave and ſober converſation, but, for the public benefit, the Athenians inſtituted the Gynæcoſmi, or Twenty Men, who ſhould make it their buſineſs to obſerve the people's apparel and behaviour; that if any were found immodeſt, and to demean themſelves looſely, they had full authority to puniſh them. But the caſe is altered, it is puniſhable to reprove ſuch: yes, it is matter of the greateſt contumely and reproach. Nay, ſo impudent are ſome grown in their impieties, that they ſport themſelves with ſuch religious perſons, and not only manifeſt a great neglect of piety, and a ſevere life, by their own looſeneſs, but their extreme contempt of it, by rendering it ridiculous through comical and abuſive jeſts on public ſtages. Which, how dangerous it is, and apt to make religion little worth in the people's eyes, beſide the demonſtration of this age, let us remember, that Ariſtophanes had not a readier way to bring the reputation of Socrates in queſtion with the people, who greatly reverenced him for his grave and virtuous life and doctrine, than by his abuſive repreſentations of him in a play: which made the airy, wanton, unſtable croud rather part with Socrates in earneſt, than Socrates in jeſt. Nor can a better reaſon be given why the poor Quakers are made ſo much the ſcorn of men, than becauſe of their ſevere reprehenſions of ſin and vanity, and their ſelf-denying converſation amidſt ſo great intemperance in all worldly ſatisfactions: yet can ſuch libertines all this while ſtrut ſwell for Chriſtians, and ſtout it out againſt precept and example; but we muſt be whimſical, conceited, moroſe, melancholy, or elſe heretics, deceivers, and what not? O blindneſs! phariſaical hypocriſy! as if

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such were fit to be judges of religion, or that it were possible for them to have a sight and sense of true religion, or really to be religious, whilst darkened in their understandings by the god of the pleasures of this world, and their minds so wrapped up in external enjoyments, and the variety of worldly delights: no; in the name of the everlasting God, you mock him, and deceive your souls; for the wrath of the Almighty is against you all, whilst in that spirit and condition: in vain are all your babbles and set performances, God laughs you to scorn; his anger is kindling because of these things. Wherefore be ye warned to temperance, and repent.

§. IX. Besides, this sort of people are not only wicked, loose and vain, who both invent and act these things; but by your great delight in such vain inventions, you encourage them therein, and hinder them from more honest and more serviceable employments. For what is the reason that most commodities are held at such excessive rates, but because labour is so very dear? And why is it so, but because so many hands are otherwise bestowed, even about the very vanity of all vanities? Nay, how common is it with these mercenary procurers to people's folly, that when their purses begin to grow low, they shall present them with a new (and pretendedly more convenient) fashion; and that perhaps, before the former costly habits shall have done half their service: which either must be given away, or new vampt in the cut most alamode. O prodigal, yet frequent folly?

§. X. I know I am coming to encounter the most plausible objection they are used to urge, when driven to a pinch, viz. 'But how shall those many families 'subsist, whose livelihood depends upon such fashions 'and recreations as you so earnestly decry?' I answer, It is a bad argument to plead for the commission of the least evil, that never so great a good may come of it: if you and they have made wickedness your pleasure and your profit, be ye content that it should be your grief and punishment, till the one can learn to be without

out such vanity, and the others have found out more honest employments. It is the vanity of the few great ones that makes so much toil for the many small; and the great excess of the one occasions the great labour of the other. Would men learn to be contented with few things, such as are necessary and convenient (the ancient Christian life) all things might be at a cheaper rate, and men might live for little. If the landlords had less lusts to satisfy, the tenants might have less rent to pay, and turn from poor to rich, whereby they might be able to find more honest and domestic employments for children, than becoming sharpers, and living by their wits which is but a better word for their sins. And if the report of the more intelligent in husbandry be credible, lands are generally improvable ten in twenty: and were there more hands about more lawful and serviceable manufactures, they would be cheaper, and greater vent might be made of them, by which a benefit would redound to the world in general: nay the burden lies the heavier upon the laborious country, that so many hands and shoulders (as have the lust-caterers of the cities) should be wanting to the plough and useful husbandry. If men never think themselves rich enough, they may never miss of trouble and employment: but those who can take the primitive state and God's creation for their model, may learn with a little to be contented; as knowing that desires after wealth do not only prevent or destroy true faith, but when got, increase snares and troubles. It is no evil to repent of evil; but that cannot be, whilst men maintain what they should repent of; it is a bad argument to avoid temperance, or justify the contrary, because otherwise the actors and inventors of excess would want a livelihood; since to feed them that way is to nurse the cause, instead of starving it. Let such of those vanity-hucksters as have got sufficient be contented to retreat, and spend it more honestly than they have got it; and such as really are poor, be rather helped by charity to better callings: this were more prudent, nay, Christian, than to consume money upon such

ſuch fooliſh toys and fopperies. Public work-houſes would be effectual remedies to all theſe lazy and luſtful diſtempers, with more profit, and a better conſcience. Therefore it is that we cannot, we dare not ſquare our converſation by the world's: no, but by our plainneſs and moderation to teſtify againſt ſuch extravagant vanities; and by our grave and ſteady life to manifeſt our diſlike, on God's behalf, to ſuch intemperate and wanton curioſity: yea, to deny ourſelves what otherwiſe perhaps we lawfully could uſe with a juſt indifferency, if not ſatisfaction, becauſe of that abuſe that is amongſt the generality.

§. XI. I know, that ſome are ready farther to object; 'Hath God given us theſe enjoyments on purpoſe to 'damn us if we uſe them?' Anſw. But to ſuch miſerable, poor, ſilly ſouls, who would rather charge the moſt high and holy God with the invention or creation of their dirty vanities, than want a plea to juſtify their own practice, not knowing how for ſhame, or fear, or love, to throw them off; I anſwer, that what God made for man's uſe was good; and what the bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt allowed, or enjoined, or gave us in his moſt heavenly example, is to be obſerved, believed, and practiſed. But in the whole catalogue the ſcriptures give of both, I never found the attires, recreations and way of living, ſo much in requeſt with the generality of the Chriſtians of theſe times:[n] no certainly. God created man an holy, wiſe, ſober, grave, and reaſonable creature, fit to govern himſelf and the world; but Divinity was then the great object of his reaſon and pleaſure: all external enjoyments of God's giving being for neceſſity, convenience, and lawful delight, with this proviſo too, that the Almighty was to be ſeen, and ſenſibly enjoyed and reverenced, in every one of them. But how very wide the Chriſtians of theſe times are from this primitive inſtitution is not difficult to determine, although they make ſuch loud pretenſions to that moſt holy Jeſus, who not only gave the world

[n] Luke viii 14 ch. xii 28 29 to 31

world a certain evidence of an happy reſtoration, by his own coming, but promiſed his aſſiſtance to all that would follow him in the ſelf-denial and way of his holy croſs; and therefore hath ſo ſeverely enjoined no leſs on all, as they would be everlaſtingly ſaved.[o] But whether the minds of men and women are not as profoundly involved in all exceſs and vanity, as thoſe who know him not any farther than by hear-ſay; and whether being thus baniſhed the preſence of the Lord, by their greedy ſeeking the things that are below, and thereby having loſt the taſte of divine pleaſure, they have not feigned to themſelves an imaginary pleaſure, to quiet or ſmother conſcience, and paſs their time without that anguiſh and trouble, which are the conſequences of ſin, that ſo they might be at eaſe and ſecurity while in the world; let their own conſciences declare. Adam's temptation is repreſented by the fruit of a tree; thereby intimating the great influence external objects, as they exceed in beauty, carry with them upon our ſenſes: ſo that unleſs the mind keep upon its conſtant watch, ſo prevalent are viſible things, that hard it is for one to eſcape being enſnared in them: and he ſhall need to be only ſometimes entrapped, to caſt ſo thick a veil of darkneſs over the mind, that not only it ſhall with pleaſure continue in its fetters to luſt and vanity, but proudly cenſure ſuch as refuſe to wear them, ſtrongly pleading for them, as ſerviceable and convenient.[p] That ſtrange paſſion do periſhing objects raiſe in thoſe minds, where way is made, and entertainment given to them. But Chriſt Jeſus is manifeſted in us, and hath given unto us a taſte and underſtanding of him that is true; and to all, ſuch a proportion of his good Spirit, as is ſufficient, would they obey it, to redeem their minds from that captivity they have been in to luſt and vanity, and entirely ranſom them from the dominion of all viſible objects, and whatſoever may gratify the deſires of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh,

[o] John viii 12 ch. xv 6 7 8 ch. xvii 20 [p] Rom. ii 8 Gen. iii 6 Mark xiii 33 34 35 36 37

fleſh, and the pride of life, that they might be regenerated in their minds, changed in their affections, and have their whole hearts ſet on things that are above, where moth nor ruſt can never paſs, or enter to harm or deſtroy.[q]

§. XII. But it is a manifeſt ſign, of what mould and make thoſe perſons are, who practiſe and plead for ſuch Egyptian ſhameful rags, as pleaſures. It is to be hoped that they never knew, or to be feared they have forgot, the humble, plain, meek, holy, ſelf-denying, and exemplary life, which the Eternal Spirit ſanctifies all obedient hearts into; yea, it is indubitable, that either ſuch always have been ignorant, or elſe that they have loſt ſight, of that good land, that heavenly country and bleſſed inheritance, they once had ſome glimmering proſpect of.[r] O that they would but withdraw a while, ſit down, weigh and conſider with themſelves, where they are, and whoſe work and will they are doing! that they would once believe, the devil hath not a ſtratagem more pernicious to their immortal ſouls, than this of exerciſing their minds in the fooliſh faſhions and wanton recreations of the times! Great and groſs impieties beget a deteſtation in the opinion of ſober education and reputation: and therefore ſince the devil rightly ſees ſuch things have no ſucceſs with many, it is his next and fataleſt deſign to find ſome other entertainments, that carry leſs of infection in their looks, though more of ſecurity, becauſe leſs of ſcandal and more of pleaſure in their enjoyment, on purpoſe to buſy and arreſt people from a diligent ſearch and inquiry after thoſe matters which neceſſarily concern their eternal peace: that being ignorant of the heavenly life, they may not be induced to preſs after it; but, being only formally religious, according to the traditions and precepts of others, proceed to their common pleaſures, and find no check therefrom (their religion and converſation for the moſt part agreeing well together) whereby

[q] 1 John v 20 1 Theſſ. v 23 [r] Gal. v 22 23 24 25 Eph. v 8 9 10 11 15 16

by an improvement in the knowledge of God, a going on from grace to grace, a growing to the measure of the stature of Jesus Christ himself is not known: but as it was in the beginning at seven, so it is at seventy; nay, not so innocent, unless by reason of the old saying, Old men are twice children. O! the mystery of godliness, the heavenly life, the true Christian, are another thing![s] Wherefore we conclude, that as the design of the devil (where he cannot involve and draw into gross sin) is to busy, delight, and allure the minds of men and women by more seeming innocent entertainments, on purpose that he may more easily secure them from minding their duty and progress and obedience to the only true God, which is eternal life; and thereby take up their minds from heavenly and eternal things: so those who would be delivered from these snares should mind the holy, just, grave, and self-denying teachings of God's Grace and spirit in themselves, that they may reject and forever abandon the like vanity and evil; and, by a reformed conversation, condemn the world of its intemperance: so will the true discipleship be obtained; for otherwise many enormous consequences, and pernicious effects will follow. It is to encourage such impious persons to continue and proceed in the like trades of feeding the people's lusts, and thereby such make themselves partakers of their plagues, who, by continual fresh desires to the like curiosities, and that way of spending time and estate, induce them to spend more time in studying how to 'abuse time;'[t] lest through their pinching and small allowance, those prodigals should call their Father's house to mind: for, whatsoever any think, more pleasant baits, alluring objects, grateful entertainments, cunning emissaries, acceptable sermons, insinuating lectures, taking orators, the crafty devil has not ever had, by which to entice and ensnare the minds of people, and totally to divert them from heavenly re-

 flections,

[s] Eph. vi 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 Eph. i 16 to 23 ch. iv 12 13 [t] John xvii 3 Rom. i 11 Tit. ii 11 12 13 14.

flections, and divine meditations, than the attire, ſports, plays, and paſtimes of this godleſs age, the ſchool and ſhop of Satan, hitherto ſo reaſonably condemned.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. 1. But if theſe cuſtoms, &c. were but indifferent, yet being abuſed, they deſerve to be rejected. §. 2. The abuſe is acknowledged by thoſe that uſe them, therefore ſhould leave them. §. 3. Such as pretend to ſeriouſneſs, ſhould exemplarily withdraw from ſuch latitudes: a wiſe parent weans his child of what it doats too much upon; and we ſhould watch over ourſelves and neighbours. §. 4. God, in the caſe of the brazen ſerpent, &c. gives us an example to put away the uſe of abuſed things. §. 5. If theſe things were ſometimes convenient, yet when their uſe is prejudicial in example, they ſhould be diſuſed. §. 6. Such as yet proceed to love their unlawful pleaſures more than Chriſt and his croſs, the miſchief they have brought to perſons and eſtates, bodies and ſouls. §. 7. Ingenuous people know this to be true: an appeal to God's Witneſs in the guilty: their ſtate that of Babylon. §. 8. But temperance in food, and plainneſs in apparel, and ſober converſation, conduce moſt to good: ſo the apoſtle teaches in his epiſtles. §. 9. Temperance enriches a land: it is a political good, as well as a religious one in all governments. §. 10. When people have done their duty to God, it will be time enough to think of pleaſing themſelves. §. 11. An addreſs to the magiſtrates, and all people, how to convert their time and money to better purpoſes.

§. 1. BUT ſhould theſe things be as indifferent, as they are proved perniciouſly unlawful (for I never heard any advance their plea beyond the bounds of mere indifferency) yet ſo great is their abuſe, ſo univerſal

univerſal the ſad effects thereof, like to an infection, that they therefore ought to be rejected of all, eſpecially thoſe, whoſe ſobriety hath preſerved them on this ſide of that exceſs, or whoſe judgments (though themſelves be guilty) ſuggeſt the folly of ſuch intemperance. For what is an indifferent thing, but that which may be done, or left undone? Granting, I ſay, this were the caſe, yet doth both reaſon and religion teach, that when they are uſed with ſuch an exceſs of appetite, as to leave them would be a croſs to their deſires, they have exceeded the bounds of mere indifferency, and are thereby rendered no leſs than neceſſary. Which being a violation of the very nature of the things themſelves, a perfect abuſe enters: and conſequently they are no longer to be conſidered in the rank of things ſimply indifferent, but unlawful.

§. II. Now that the whole exchange of things againſt which I have ſo earneſtly contended, are generally abuſed by the exceſs of almoſt all ages, ſexes, and qualities of people, will be confeſſed by many, who yet decline not to conform themſelves to them; and to whom, as I have underſtood, it only ſeems lawful, becauſe (ſay they) the abuſe of others ſhould be no argument why we ſhould not uſe them. But to ſuch I anſwer, that they have quite forgot, or will not remember, they have acknowledged theſe things to be but of an indifferent nature: if ſo (and vanity never urged more) I ſay, there can be nothing more clear, than ſince they acknowledged their great abuſe, that they are wholly to be forſaken: for ſince they may as well be let alone as done at any time, ſurely they ſhould then of duty be let alone, when the uſe of them is an abetting the general exceſs, and a mere exciting others to continue in their abuſe, becauſe they find perſons reputed ſober to imitate them, or otherwiſe give them an example:[a] precepts are not half ſo forcible as examples.

§. III. Every one that pretends to ſerioufneſs ought to inſpect himſelf, as having been too forward to help on

[a] Phil. iii 17.

on the excefs, and can never make too much haſte out of thoſe inconveniences, that by his former example he encouraged any to; that by a new one he may put a ſeaſonable check upon the intemperance of others.[b] A wiſe parent ever withdraws thoſe objects, however innocent in themſelves, which are too prevalent upon the weak ſenſes of his children, on purpoſe that they might be weaned. And it is as frequent with men to bend a crooked ſtick as much the contrary way, that they might make it ſtraight at laſt. Thoſe that have more ſobriety than others ſhould not forget their ſtewardſhips, but exerciſe that gift of God to the ſecurity of their neighbours. It was murdering Cain that rudely aſked the Lord, 'Was he his brother's keeper?'[c] for every man is neceſſarily obliged thereto; and therefore ſhould be ſo wiſe, as to deny himſelf the uſe of ſuch indifferent enjoyments, as cannot be uſed by him without too manifeſt an encouragement to his neighbours folly.

§. IV. God hath ſufficiently excited men to what is ſaid; for in the caſe of the brazen ſerpent, which was an heavenly inſtitution and type of Chriſt, he with great diſpleaſure enjoined it ſhould be broke to pieces, becauſe they were too fond and doating upon it.[d] Yes, the very groves themſelves, however pleaſant for ſituation, beautiful for their walks and trees, muſt be cut down; and why? only becauſe they had been abuſed to idolatrous uſes. And what is an idol, but that which the mind puts an over-eſtimate or value upon? None can benefit themſelves ſo much by an indifferent thing, as others by not uſing that abuſed liberty.

§. V. If thoſe things were convenient in themſelves, which is a ſtep nearer neceſſity than mere indifferency, yet when by circumſtances they become prejudicial, ſuch conveniency itſelf ought to be given up: much more what is but indifferent ſhould be denied. People ought not to weigh their private ſatisfactions more than a public good; nor pleaſe themſelves in too free an uſe

[b] Rom. xiv to the end. [c] Gen. iv 9 [d] 2 Kings xviii 3 4.

uſe of indifferent things, at the coſt of being ſo really prejudicial to the public, as they certainly are, whoſe uſe of them (if no worſe) becomes exemplary to others, and begets an impatiency in their minds to have the like.[e] Wherefore it is both reaſonable and incumbent on all, to make only ſuch things neceſſary, as tend to life and godlineſs, and to employ their freedom with moſt advantage to their neighbours.[f] So that here is a two-fold obligation; the one, not to be exemplary in the uſe of ſuch things; which, though they may uſe them, yet not without giving too much countenance to the abuſe and exceſſive vanity of their neighbours. The other obligation is, that they ought ſo far to condeſcend to ſuch religious people who are offended at theſe faſhions, and that kind of converſation, as to reject them.[g]

§. VI. Now thoſe, who notwithſtanding what I have urged will yet proceed; what is it, but that they have ſo involved themſelves and their affections in them, that it is hardly poſſible to reform them; and that, for all their many proteſtations againſt their fondneſs to ſuch fopperies, they really love them more than Chriſt and his croſs? Such cannot ſeek the good of others, who do ſo little reſpect their own. For, after a ſerious conſideration, what vanity, pride, idleneſs, expenſe of time and eſtates, have been, and yet are? how many perſons debauched from their firſt ſobriety, and women from their natural ſweetneſs and innocency, to looſe, airy, wanton, and many times more enormous practices? how many plentiful eſtates have been over-run by numerous debts, chaſtity enſnared by accurſed luſtful intrigues? youthful health overtaken by the haſty ſeizure of unnatural diſtempers, and the remaining days of ſuch ſpent upon a rack of their vices procuring, and ſo made ſlaves to the unmerciful but neceſſary effects of their own inordinate pleaſures? in which agony they vow

[e] Pſal. xxxiv. 4 [f] 2 Pet. i. 3 Eph. v. 7 [g] Rom. xiv. 1 to the end.

vow the greateſt temperance: but are no ſooner out of it, than in their vice again.[h]

§. VII. That theſe things are the caſe, and almoſt innumerable more, I am perſuaded no ingenuous perſon of any experience will deny; how then, upon a ſerious reflection, any that pretend conſcience, or the fear of God Almighty, can longer continue in the garb, livery, and converſation of thoſe whoſe whole life tends to little elſe than what I have repeated, much leſs join with them in their abominable exceſs,[i] I leave to the Juſt Principle in themſelves to judge. No ſurely! this is not to obey the voice of God, who in all ages did loudly cry to all, 'Come out (of what?) of the 'ways, faſhions, converſe and ſpirit of Babylon?' What is that? the great city of all theſe vain, fooliſh, wanton, ſuperfluous and wicked practices, againſt which the ſcriptures denounce moſt dreadful judgments; aſcribing all the intemperance of men and women to the cup of wickedneſs ſhe hath given them to drink; whoſe are the things indifferent, if they muſt be ſo.[k] And for witneſs, hear what the revelations ſay in her deſcription: 'How much ſhe hath glorified herſelf, 'and lived deliciouſly, ſo much torment and ſorrow 'give her. And the kings of the earth, who have 'lived deliciouſly with her, ſhall bewail and lament 'her; and the merchants of the earth ſhall weep over 'her; for no man buyeth their merchandize any more: 'the merchandize of gold and ſilver, and precious 'ſtones, and of pearls, and fine linnen, and purple, 'and ſilk, and ſcarlet, and all manner of veſſels of 'ivory, and all manner of veſſels of moſt precious 'wood; and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, 'and frankincenſe, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, 'and beaſts, and ſlaves, and ſouls of men.'[l] Behold the character and judgment of luxury; and though I know it hath a farther ſignification than what is literal, yet there

[h] Lam. iv 5 Prov. xxi 17 Job xxi 13 14 Pſal. lv 23 Pſal. xxxvii 10 Eccl. viii 12 Pſal. xxxvii 1 2 Prov. ii 22 [i] Jer. xvi. 5 6 7 8 9 [k] Iſa. iii 13 to 36 Jer. l 8 ch. xv 6 7 Amos vi 3 4 5 6 7 [l] Rev. xviii 7 8 12 13.

there is enough to shew the pomp, plenty, fulness, idleness, ease, wantonness, vanity, lust, and excess of luxury that reign in her. But at the terrible day who will go to her exchange any more? who to her plays? who will follow her fashions then? and who shall traffic in her delicate inventions? Not one; for she shall be judged. No plea shall excuse, or rescue her from the wrath of the judge; for strong is the Lord who will perform it.[m] If yet these reasonable pleas will not prevail, however I shall caution such, in the repetition of part of Babylon's miserable doom: Mind, my friends, more heavenly things; hasten to obey that Righteous Principle, which would exercise and delight you in that which is eternal; or else with Babylon, the mother of lust and vanity, the fruits which your souls lust after shall depart from you, and all things which are dainty and goodly shall depart from you, and you shall find them no more![n] O Dives! no more! Lay your treasures therefore up in heaven, O ye inhabitants of the earth, where nothing can break through to harm them; but where time shall shortly be swallowed up of eternity![o]

§. VIII. But my arguments against these things end not here; for the contrary most of all conduces to good, namely, 'temperance in food, plainness in apparel; 'with a meek, shame-faced, and quiet spirit, and 'that conversation which doth only express the same in 'all godly honesty:' as the apostle saith, 'Let no cor-'rupt communication proceed out of your mouth, 'but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it 'may administer grace to the hearers; neither filthi-'ness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, but rather giv-'ing of thanks: for let no man deceive you with vain 'words, because of these things cometh the wrath of 'God upon the children of disobedience.'[p] And if men

[m] Rev. xviii 8 [n] Ver. 14 [o] Luke xii 33 34 [p] Col. iv 5 6 1 Thess. iv 11 12 1 Pet. iii 1 2 3 4 Eph. iv 29 and v 3 4 5 6 1 Tim. iv 12 Phil. iii 16 to 20 1 Pet. ii 12 Prov. xxxi 23 to 31 2 Chr. xiii 7 Prov. xxiv 23 James ii 2 to 9 Luke xii 22 39 1 Tim. iv 2 Pet. iii 11 Psal. xxvi 6.

men and women were but thus adorned, after this truly Christian manner, impudence would soon receive a check, and lust, pride, vanity, and wantonness, find a rebuke. They would not be able to attempt such universal chastity, or encounter such godly austerity: virtue would be in credit, and vice afraid and ashamed, and excess not dare to shew its face. There would be an end of gluttony, and gaudiness of apparel, flattering titles, and a luxurious life; and then primitive innocency and plainness would come back again, and that plain-hearted downright harmless life would be restored, of not much caring what we should eat, drink, or put on, as Christ tells us the Gentiles did, and as we know this age daily does, under all its talk of religion: but as the ancients, who with moderate care for necessaries and conveniences of life, devoted themselves to the concernments of a celestial kingdom, more minded their improvement in righteousness, than their increase in riches; for they laid their treasure up in heaven, and endured tribulation for an inheritance that cannot be taken away.[q]

§. IX. But the temperance I plead for, is not only religiously, but politically good: it is the interest of good government to curb and rebuke excesses: it prevents many mischiefs; luxury brings effeminacy, laziness, poverty and misery; but temperance preserves the land.[r] It keeps out foreign vanities, and improves our own commodities: now we are their debtors, then they would be debtors to us for our native manufactures: By this means, such persons, who by their excess, not charity, have deeply engaged their estates, may in a short space be enabled to clear them from those incumbrances, which otherwise (like moths) soon eat out plentiful revenues. It helps persons of mean substance to improve their small stocks, that they may not expend their dear earnings and hard-got wages upon superfluous apparel, foolish may-games, plays, dancing, shews, taverns, ale-houses, and the like folly and intemperance;

[q] Mat. xxv 21 [r] Prov. x 4 1 Eccl. x 16 17 18.

perance; with which this land is more infested, and by which it is rendered more ridiculous, than any kingdom in the world: for none I know of is so infested with cheating mountebanks, savage morrice-dancers, pick-pockets, and profane players, and stagers; to the slight of religion, the shame of government, and the great idleness, expense, and debauchery of the people: for which the spirit of the Lord is grieved, and the judgments of the Almighty are at the door, and the sentence ready to be pronounced, 'Let him that is unjust, be unjust still.'[t] Wherefore it is, that we cannot but loudly call upon the generality of the times, and testify, both by our life and doctrine, against the like vanities and abuses, if possible any may be weaned from their folly, and choose the good old path of temperance, wisdom, gravity, and holiness, the only way to inherit the blessings of peace and plenty here, and eternal happiness hereafter.[u]

§. X. Lastly, supposing we had none of these foregoing reasons justly to reprove the practice of the land in these particulars; however, let it be sufficient for us to say, that when people have first learned to fear, worship, and obey their Creator, to pay their numerous vicious debts, to alleviate and abate their oppressed tenants; but above all outward regards, when the pale faces are more commiserated, the pinched bellies relieved, and naked backs clothed; when the famished poor, the distressed widow, and helpless orphan (God's works, and your fellow-creatures) are provided for! then I say (if then) it will be time enough for you to plead the indifferency of your pleasures. But that the sweat and tedious labour of the husbandmen, early and late, cold and hot, wet and dry, should be converted into the pleasure, ease, and pastime of a small number of men; that the cart, the plough, the thresh, should be in that continual severity laid upon nineteen parts of the land to feed the inordinate lusts and delicious appetites of the twentieth, is so far from the appointment

[t] Rev. xxii 11 [u] Prov. xxi 4 29.

of the great Governor of the world, and God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, that to imagine ſuch horrible injuſtice as the effects of his determinations, and not the intemperance of men, were wretched and blaſphemous. As on the other ſide, it would be to deſerve no pity, no help, no relief from God Almighty, for people to continue that expenſe in vanity and pleaſure, whilſt the great neceſſities of ſuch objects go unanſwered: eſpecially ſince God hath made the ſons of men but ſtewards to each other's exigencies and relief. Yea, ſo ſtrict is it enjoined, that on the omiſſion of theſe things, we find this dreadful ſentence partly to be grounded, 'Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire,' &c. As on the contrary, to viſit the ſick, ſee the impriſoned, relieve the needy, &c. are ſuch excellent properties in Chriſt's account, that thereupon he will pronounce ſuch bleſſed, ſaying, 'Come ye bleſſed of my Father, 'inherit the Kingdom prepared for you,' &c. So that the great are not (with the Leviathan in the deep) to prey upon the ſmall, much leſs to make a ſport of the lives and labours of the leſſer ones, to gratify their inordinate ſenſes.[w]

§. XI. I therefore humbly offer an addreſs to the ſerious conſideration of the civil magiſtrate, That if the money which is expended in every pariſh in ſuch vain faſhions, as wearing of laces, jewels, embroideries, unneceſſary ribbons, trimming, coſtly furniture, and attendance, together with what is commonly conſumed in taverns, feaſts, gaming, &c. could be collected into a public ſtock, or ſomething in lieu of this extravagant and fruitleſs expenſe, there might be reparation to the broken tenants, work-houſes for the able, and almshouſes for the aged and impotent.[x] Then ſhould we have

[w] Eccl. xii 1 Pſal. xxxvii 21 Pſal. x 2 Pſal. iv 2 Pſal. lxxix 12 Pſal. lxxxii 3 4 Prov. xxii 7 Iſa. iii 14 15 Ezek. xxii 29 Amos v 11 12 ch. viii 4 7 8 Iſa. i 16 17 18 Jer. vii 6 Rom. xii 20 2 Cor. ix 7 Pſal. xl 4 Acts x 34 Rom. ii 11 Eph. vi 9 Col. iii 25 1 Pet. i 17 Jam. v 4 5 Pſal. xli 1 Mat. xxv 34 35 36 Jam. ii 15 16 Pſal. cxii 9 [x] Prov. xiv 21 Mat. xix 21.

have no beggars in the land, the cry of the widow and the orphan would ceaſe, and charitable reliefs might eaſily be afforded towards the redemption of poor captives, and refreſhment of ſuch diſtreſſed Proteſtants as labour under the miſeries of perſecution in other countries: nay, the exchequer's needs, on juſt emergencies, might be ſupplied by ſuch a bank: this ſacrifice and ſervice would pleaſe the juſt and merciful God: it would be a noble example of gravity and temperance to foreign ſtates, and an unſpeakable benefit to ourſelves at home.

Alas! why ſhould men need perſuaſions to what their own felicity ſo neceſſarily leads them to? had thoſe vitioſos of the times but a ſenſe of heathen Cato's generoſity, they would rather deny their carnal appetites, than leave ſuch noble enterpriſes unattempted. But that they ſhould eat, drink, play, game and ſport away their health, eſtates, and above all their irrevocable precious time, which ſhould be dedicated to the Lord, as a neceſſary introduction to a bleſſed eternity, and than which (did they but know it) no worldly ſolace could come in competition; I ſay, that they ſhould be continually employed about theſe poor, low things, is to have the Heathens judge them in God's day, as well as Chriſtian precepts and examples condemn them. And their final doom will prove the more aſtoniſhing, in that this vanity and exceſs are acted under a profeſſion of the ſelf-denying religion of Jeſus, whoſe life and doctrine are a perpetual reproach to the moſt of Chriſtians. For he (bleſſed man) was humble, but they are proud; he forgiving, they revengeful; he meek, they fierce; he plain, they gaudy; he abſtemious, they luxurious; he chaſte, they laſcivious; he a pilgrim on earth, they citizens of the world: in fine, he was meanly born, poorly attended, and obſcurely brought up: he lived deſpiſed, and died hated of the men of his own nation. O you pretended followers of this crucified Jeſus! 'examine yourſelves, try your-'ſelves; know you not your own ſelves, if he dwell not '(if he rule not) in you, that you are reprobates?[y] be 'ye not deceived, for God will not be mocked (at laſt with

[y] 2 Cor. xiii 5.

'with forced repentances); such as you sow, such '(such you must) reap in God's day.'[z] I beseech you hear me, and remember you were invited and entreated to the salvation of God. I say, as you sow you reap: if you are enemies to the cross of Christ (and you are so, if you will not bear it, but do as you list, and not as you ought) if you are uncircumcised in heart and ear (and you are so, if you will not hear and open to him that knocks at the door within) and if you resist and quench the Spirit in yourselves, that strives with you to bring you to God (and that you certainly do, who rebel against its motions, reproofs and instructions) then 'you sow to the flesh, to fulfil the lusts there-'of, and of the flesh will you reap the fruits of corrup-'tion, wo, anguish, and tribulation, from God the judge 'of quick and dead, by Jesus Christ.'[a] But if you will daily bear the holy cross of Christ, and sow to the Spirit; if you will listen to the light and grace that comes by Jesus, and which he has given to all people for salvation, and square your thoughts, words and deeds thereby (which leads and teaches the lovers of it to deny all ungodliness and the world's lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present evil world) then may you with confidence look for the blessed 'hope, 'and joyful coming, and glorious appearance of the 'great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.'[b] Let it be so, O you Christians, and escape the wrath to come! why will you die? let the time past suffice: remember, that No Cross, No Crown. 'Redeem then the time, 'for the days are evil, and yours but very few. There-'fore gird up the loins of your minds, be sober, fear, 'watch, pray, and endure to the end;'[c] calling to mind, for your encouragement and consolation; that all such, as 'through patience and well doing wait for immor-'tality, shall reap glory, honour, and eternal life, in 'the kingdom of the Father; whose is the kingdom, 'the power, and the glory for ever.'[d] Amen.

PART

[z] Gal. vi 7 8 [a] Rom. ii 8 [b] Tit. iii 11 12 13 [c] Eph. v 16 [d] Rom. ii 7 9.

PART II.

Containing an account of the living and dying Sayings of men eminent for their Greatneſs, Learning or Virtue; and that of divers periods of time, and nations of the world. All concurring in this one teſtimony, "That a life of ſtrict "virtue, viz. To do well, and bear ill, is the "way to everlaſting happineſs." Collected in favour of the truth delivered in the firſt part.

By WILLIAM PENN.

THE PREFACE.

NO CROSS, NO CROWN ſhould have ended here; but that the power, examples and authorities have put upon the minds of people, above the moſt reaſonable and preſſing arguments, inclined me to preſent my readers with ſome of thoſe many inſtances that might be given, in favour of the virtuous life recommended in our diſcourſe. I choſe to caſt them into three ſorts of teſtimonies (not after the threefold ſubject of the book, but) ſuitable to the times, qualities, and circumſtances of the perſons that gave them forth; whoſe divers excellencies and ſtations have tranſmitted their names with reputation to our own times. The firſt teſtimony comes from thoſe called Heathens, the ſecond from Profeſſed Chriſtians, and the laſt from Retired, Aged, and Dying Men; being their laſt and ſerious reflections, to which no oſtentation or worldly intereſts could induce them. Where it will be eaſy for the conſiderate reader to obſerve how much the pride, avarice, and luxury of the world, ſtood reprehended in the judgments of perſons of great credit amongſt

amongſt men: and what was that life and conduct, that in their moſt retired meditations, when their ſight was cleareſt, and judgment moſt free and diſabuſed, they thought would give peace here, and lay foundations of eternal bleſſedneſs.

CHAP. XIX.

The teſtimonies of ſeveral great, learned, and virtuous perſonages among the Gentiles, urged againſt the exceſſes of the age, in favour of the ſelf-denial, temperance, and piety herein recommended.

I. Among the Greeks, viz. §. 1. Of Cyrus. §. 2. Artaxerxes. §. 3. Agathocles. §. 4. Philip. §. 5. Alexander. §. 6. Ptolemy. §. 7. Xenophanes. §. 8. Antigonus. §. 9. Themiſtocles. §. 10. Ariſtides. §. 11. Pericles. §. 12. Phocion. §. 13. Clitomachus. §. 14. Epaminondas. §. 15. Demoſthenes. §. 16. Agaſicles. §. 17. Ageſilaus. §. 18. Agis. §. 19. Alcamenes. §. 20. Alexandridas. §. 21. Anaxilas. §. 22. Ariſton. §. 23. Archidamus. §. 24. Cleomenes. §. 25. Derſyllidas. §. 26. Hippodamus. §. 27. Leonidas. §. 28. Lyſander. §. 29. Pauſanias. §. 30. Theopompus, &c. §. 31. The manner of life and government of the Lacedæmonians in general. §. 32. Lycurgus their lawgiver. (II.) Among the Romans, viz. §. 33. Of Cato. §. 34. Scipio Africanus. §. 35. Auguſtus. §. 36. Tiberius. §. 37. Veſpaſian. §. 38. Trajan. §. 39. Adrian. §. 40. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. §. 41. Pertinax. §. 42. Peſcennius. §. 43. Alexander Severus. §. 44. Aurelianus. §. 45. Dioclefian. §. 46. Julian. §. 47. Theodoſius. (III.) The lives and doctrines of ſome of the Heathen philoſophers among the Greeks and Romans, viz. §. 48. Thales. §. 49. Pythagoras. §. 50. Solon. §. 51. Chilon. §. 52. Periander. §. 53. Bias.

Bias. §. 54. Cleobulus. §. 55. Pittacus. §. 56. Hippias. §. 57. The Gymnoſophiſtæ. §. 58. The Bamburacii. §. 59. Gynæcoſmi. §. 60. Anacharſis. §. 61. Anaxagoras. §. 62. Heraclitus. §. 63. Democritus. §. 64. Socrates. §. 65. Plato. §. 66. Antiſthenes. § 67. Xenocrates. §. 68. Bion. §. 69. Demonax. §. 70. Diogenes. §. 71. Crates. §. 72. Ariſtotle. §. 73. Mandanis. §. 74. Zeno. §. 75. Quintilian. §. 76. Seneca. §. 77. Epictetus. (IV.) Of virtuous Heathen women, viz. §. 78. Penelope. §. 79. Theoxena. §. 80. Pandora and Protagena. §. 81. Hipparchia. §. 82. Lucretia. §. 83. Cornelia. §. 84. Pontia. §. 85. Arria. §. 86. Pompeja Plautina. §. 87. Plotina. §. 88. Pompeja Paulina. §. 89. A reproof to voluptuous women of the times.

§. I. CYRUS (than whom a greater monarch we hardly find in ſtory) is more famous for his virtue than his power; and indeed it was that which gave him power. God calls him his ſhepherd: now let us ſee the principles of his conduct and life. So temperate was he in his youth, that when Aſtyages urged him to drink wine, he anſwered, I am afraid leſt there ſhould be poiſon in it; having ſeen thee reel and ſottiſh after having drunk thereof. And ſo careful was he to keep the Perſians from corruption of manners, that he would not ſuffer them to leave their rude and mountainous country, for one more pleaſant and fruitful, leſt through plenty and eaſe, luxury at laſt might debaſe their ſpirits. And ſo very chaſte was he, that having taken a lady of quality, a moſt beautiful woman, his priſoner, he refuſed to ſee her, ſaying, I have no mind to be a captive to my captive. It ſeems, he claimed no ſuch propriety; but ſhunned the occaſion of evil. The comptroller of his houſehold aſking him one day what he would pleaſe to have for his dinner? Bread, ſaid he; for I intend to encamp nigh the water: a ſhort and eaſy bill of fare: but this ſhews the power he had over his appetite as well as his ſoldiers; and that he was fit

fit to command others, that could command himself; according to another saying of his, No man (saith he) is worthy to command, who is not better than those who are to obey: and when he came to die, he gave this reason of his belief of immortality, I cannot, said he, persuade myself to think, that the soul of man, after having sustained itself in a mortal body, should perish when delivered out of it, for want of it: a saying of perhaps as great weight, as may be advanced against atheism from more enlightened times.

§. II. Artaxerxes Mnemon, being upon an extraordinary occasion reduced to eat barley bread and dried figs, and drink water; What pleasure (saith he) have I lost till now through my delicacies and excess!

§. III. Agathocles becoming king of Sicily, from being the son of a potter, always to humble his mind to his original, would be daily served in earthen vessels upon his table: an example of humility and plainness.

§. IV. Philip king of Macedon, upon three sorts of good news arriving in one day, feared too much success might transport him immoderately; and therefore prayed for some disappointments to season his prosperity, and caution his mind under the enjoyment of it. He refused to oppress the Greeks with his garrison, saying, I had rather retain them by kindness, than fear; and to be always beloved, than for a while terrible. One of his minions persuading him to decline hearing of a cause, wherein a particular friend was interested; I had much rather, says he, thy friend should lose his cause, than I my reputation. Seeing his son Alexander endeavour to gain the hearts of the Macedonians by gifts and rewards, Canst thou believe, says he, that a man that thou hast corrupted to thy interests will ever be true to them? When his court would have had him quarrel and correct the Pelopounenses for their ingratitude to him, he said, By no means; for if they despise and abuse me, after being kind to them, what will they do if I do them harm? A great example of patience in a king, and wittily said. Like to this was his reply to the ambassadors of Athens, whom asking after audience, If he could

could do them any ſervice, and one of them ſurlily anſwering, The beſt thou canſt do us is, to hang thyſelf; he was nothing diſturbed, though his court murmured; but calmly ſaid to the ambaſſador, Thoſe who ſuffer injuries, are better people than thoſe that do them. To conclude with him, being one day fallen along the ground, and ſeeing himſelf in that poſture, he cried out, What a ſmall ſpot of earth do we take up! and yet the whole world cannot content us.

§. V. ALEXANDER was very temperate and virtuous in his youth: a certain governor having written to him, that a merchant of the place had ſeveral fine boys to ſell, he returned him this anſwer with great indignation, What haſt thou ſeen in any act of my life, that ſhould put thee upon ſuch a meſſage as this? and avoided the women his courtiers flung in his way to debauch him. Nay, he would not ſee the wife of Darius, famed for the moſt beautiful princeſs of the age; which with his other virtues, made Darius (the laſt Perſian king) to ſay, If God has determined to take my empire from me, I wiſh it into the hands of Alexander, my virtuous enemy. He hated covetouſneſs; for though he left great conqueſts, he left no riches; which made him thus to anſwer one that aſked him dying, Where he had hid his treaſures; Among my friends, ſays he. He was wont to ſay, He owed more to his maſter for his education, than to his father for his birth; by how much it was leſs to live, than to live well.

§ VI. PTOLEMY, ſon of Lagus, being reproached for his mean original, and his friends, angry that he did not reſent it; we ought, ſays he, to bear reproaches patiently.

§. VII. XENOPHANES being jeered for refuſing to play at a forbidden game, anſwered, I do not fear my money, but my reputation: they that make laws, muſt keep them. A commendable ſaying.

§. VIII. ANTIGONUS being taken ſick, he ſaid, It was a warning from God to inſtruct him of his mortality.

A poet

A poet flattering him with the title of Son of God; he anſwered, My ſervant knows the contrary. Another ſycophant telling him, that the will of kings is the rule of juſtice: No, ſaith he, rather juſtice is the rule of the will of kings. And being preſſed by his minions to put a garriſon into Athens, to hold the Greeks in ſubjection, he anſwered, He had not a ſtronger garriſon than the affections of his people.

§. IX. THEMISTOCLES, after all the honour of his life, ſits down with this concluſion, That the way to the grave is more deſirable than the way to worldly honours. His daughter being courted by one of little wit and great wealth, and another of little wealth and great goodneſs; he choſe the poor man for his ſon-in-law; For, ſaith he, I will rather have a man without money, than money without a man; reckoning that not money, but worth, makes the man. Being told by Symmachus, that he would teach him the art of memory; he gravely anſwered, He had rather learn the art of forgetfulneſs; adding, He could remember enough, but many things he could not forget, which were neceſſary to be forgotten; as the honours, glories, pleaſures and conqueſts he had ſpent his days in, too apt to tranſport to vain glory.

§. X. ARISTIDES, a wiſe and juſt Greek, of greateſt honour and truſt with the Athenians; he was a great enemy to cabals in government: the reaſon he renders is, Becauſe, ſaith he, I would not be obliged to authorize injuſtice. He ſo much hated covetouſneſs, though he was thrice choſen treaſurer of Athens, that he lived and died poor, and that of choice: for being therefore reproached by a rich uſurer, he anſwered, Thy riches hurt thee, more than my poverty hurts me. Being once baniſhed by a contrary faction in the ſtate, he prayed to God, That the affairs of his country might go ſo well, as never to need his return; which however cauſed him preſently to be recalled. Whereupon he told them, That he was not troubled for his exile with reſpect to himſelf, but the honour of his country. Themiſtocles, their general, had a project to propoſe

to

to render Athens miſtreſs of Greece, but it required ſecrecy: the people obliged him to communicate it to Ariſtides, whoſe judgment they would follow. Ariſtides having privately heard it from Themiſtocles, publicly anſwered to the people, True, there was nothing more advantageous, nor nothing more unjuſt: which quaſhed the project.

§. XI. PERICLES, as he mounted the tribunal, prayed to God, that not a word might fall from him that might ſcandalize the people, wrong the public affairs, or hurt his own. One of his friends praying him to ſpeak falſely in his favour, We are friends, ſaith he, but not beyond the altar; meaning not againſt religion and truth. Sophocles, being his companion, upon ſight of a beautiful woman, ſaid to Pericles, Ah, what a lovely creature is that! to whom Pericles replied, it becometh a magiſtrate not only to have his hands clean, but his tongue and eyes alſo.

§. XII. PHOCION, a famous Athenian, was honeſt and poor, yea, he contemned riches: for a certain governor making rich preſents, he returned them; ſaying, I refuſed Alexander's. And when ſeveral perſuaded him to accept of ſuch bounty, or elſe his children would want, he anſwered, If my ſon be virtuous, I ſhall leave him enough; and if he be vicious, more would be too little. He rebuked the exceſs of the Athenians, and that openly, ſaying, He that eateth more than he ought, maketh more diſeaſes than he can cure. To condemn or flatter him was to him alike. Demoſthenes telling him, Whenever the people were enraged, they would kill him; he anſwered, and thee alſo, when they are come to their wits. He ſaid, An orator was like a cypreſs tree, fair and great, but fruitleſs. Antipater, preſſing him to ſubmit to his ſenſe, he anſwered, Thou canſt not have me for a friend and flatterer too. Seeing a man in office to ſpeak much, and do little, he aſked, How can that man do buſineſs, that is already drunk with talking? After all the great ſervices of his life, he was unjuſtly condemned to die; and going to the place of execution, lamented of the people, one of his

his enemies ſpit in his face; he took it without any diſorder of mind, only ſaying, Take him away. Before execution, his friends aſked him, Whether he had nothing to ſay to his ſon? Yes, ſaid he, let him not hate my enemies, nor revenge my death: I ſee it is better to ſleep upon the earth with peace, than with trouble upon the ſofteſt bed: that he ought to do that which is his duty, and what is more is vanity: that he muſt not carry two faces: that he promiſe little, but keep his promiſes: the world does the contrary.

§. XIII. CLITOMACHUS had ſo great a love to virtue, and practiſed it with ſuch exactneſs, that if at any time in company he heard wanton or obſcene diſcourſe, he was wont to quit the place.

§. XIV. EPAMINONDAS being invited to a ſacrificial feaſt, ſo ſoon as he had entered he withdrew, becauſe of the ſumptuous furniture and attire of the place and people; ſaying, I was called at Leuctra to a ſacrifice, but I find it is a debauch. The day after the great battle which he obtained upon his enemies, he ſeemed ſad and ſolitary, which was not his ordinary temper; and being aſked why? anſwered, I would moderate the joy of yeſterday's triumphs. A Theſſalian general, and his colleague in a certain enterpriſe, knowing his poverty, ſent him two thouſand crowns to defray his part of the charges; but he ſeemed angry, and anſwered, This looks like corrupting me; contenting himſelf with leſs than five pounds, which he borrowed of one of his friends for that ſervice. The ſame moderation made him refuſe the preſents of the Perſian emperor, ſaying, They were needleſs, if he only deſired of him what was juſt; if more, he was not rich enough to corrupt him. Seeing a rich man refuſe to lend one of his friends money that was in affliction; he ſaid, Art not thou aſhamed to refuſe to help a good man in neceſſity? After he had freed Greece from trouble, and made the Thebans his countrymen triumph over the Lacedæmonians (till then invincible) that ungrateful people arraigned him and his friends, under pretence of acting ſomething without authority; he, as general, took

took the blame upon himself, justified the action both from necessity and success, arraigning his judges for ingratitude, whilst himself was at the bar; which caused them to withdraw with fallen countenances, and hearts smitten with guilt and fear. To conclude, he was a man of great truth and patience, as well as wisdom and courage; for he was never observed to lie, in earnest or in jest. And notwithstanding the ill and cross humours of the Thebans, aggravated by his incomparable hazards and services for their freedom and renown, it is reported of him, that he ever bore them patiently: often saying, That he ought no more to be revenged of his country, than of his father. And being wounded to death in the battle of Mantinea, he advised his countrymen to make peace, none being fit to command: which proved true. He would not suffer them to pull the sword out of his body, till he knew he had gained the victory; and then he ended his days with this expression in his mouth, I die contentedly, for it is in defence of my country; and I am sure I shall live in the eternal memory of good men. This, for a Gentile and a general, hath matter of praise and example in it.

§. XV. Demosthenes, the great orator of Athens, had these sentences: That wise men speak little; and that therefore nature hath given men two ears and one tongue to hear more than they speak. To one that spoke much he said, How cometh it, that he who taught thee to speak, did not teach thee to hold thy tongue? He said of a covetous man, That he knew not how to live all his life-time, and that he left it for another to live after he was dead. That it was an easy thing to deceive one's self, because it was easy to persuade one's self to what one desired. He said, That calumnies were easily received, but time would always discover them. That there was nothing more uneasy to good men, than not to have the liberty of speaking freely: and that if one knew what one had to suffer from the people, one would never meddle to govern them. In fine, That man's happiness was to be like God:

God; and to reſemble him, we muſt love truth and juſtice.

§. XVI. AGASICLES, king of the Lacedæmonians (or Spartans, which are one) was of the opinion, That it was better to govern without force: And, ſays he, the means to do it, is to govern the people as a father governs his children.

§. XVII. AGESILAUS, king of the ſame people, would ſay, That he had rather be maſter of himſelf, than of the greateſt city of his enemies; and to preſerve his own liberty, than to uſurp the liberty of another man. A prince, ſays he, ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf from his ſubjects by his virtue, and not by his ſtate or delicacy of life. Wherefore he wore a plain, ſimple cloathing; his table was as moderate, and his bed as hard, as that of any ordinary ſubject. And when he was told, that one time or other he would be obliged to change his faſhion; No, ſaith he, I am not given to change, even in a change: and this I do, ſaith he, to remove from young men any pretence of luxury; that they may ſee their prince practiſe what he counſels them to do. He added, that the foundation of the Lacedæmonian laws was, to deſpiſe luxury, and to reward with liberty: Nor, ſaith he, ſhould good men put a value upon that which mean and baſe ſouls make their delight. Being flattered by ſome with divine honour, he aſked them, If they could not make gods too? If they could, why did they not begin with themſelves?—The ſame auſtere conduct of life made him refuſe to have his ſtatue erected in the cities of Aſia; nor would he ſuffer his picture to be taken; and his reaſon is good: For, ſaith he, the faireſt portraiture of men is their own actions.—Whatſoever was to be ſuddenly done in the government, he was ſure to ſet his hand firſt to the work, like a common perſon. He would ſay, it did not become men to make proviſion to be rich, but to be good. Being aſked the means to true happineſs, he anſwered, To do nothing that ſhould make a man fear to die: another time, To ſpeak well, and do well. Being called home by the Ephori (or ſupreme magiſtrates, the way of the Spartan

Spartan conſtitution) he returned; ſaying, It is not leſs the duty of a prince to obey laws, than to command men. He conferred places of truſt and honour upon his enemies, that he might conſtrain their hatred into love. A lawyer aſked him for a letter to make a perſon judge, that was of his own friends: My friends, ſays he, have no need of a recommendation to do juſtice.—A comedian of note wondering that Ageſilaus ſaid nothing to him, aſked, if he knew him? Yes, ſaith he, I know thee; art not thou the buffoon Callipedes?—One calling the king of Perſia the great king, he anſwered, He is not greater than I, unleſs he hath more virtue than I.—One of his friends catching him playing with his children, he prevented him thus: Say nothing, till thou art a father too.—He had great care of the education of youth; often ſaying, We muſt teach children what they ſhall do when they are men. The Egyptians deſpiſing him becauſe he had but a ſmall train and a mean equipage; Oh, ſaith he, I will have them to know, royalty conſiſts not in vain pomp, but in virtue.

§. XVIII. Agis, another king of Lacedæmonia, impriſoned for endeavouring to reſtore their declining diſcipline, being aſked, whether he repented not of his deſign? anſwered, No; for, ſaith he, good actions never need repentance. His father and mother deſiring of him to grant ſomething he thought unjuſt, he anſwered, I obeyed you when I was young; I muſt now obey the laws, and do that which is reaſonable.—As he was leading to the place of execution, one of his people wept; to whom he ſaid, Weep not for me; for the authors of this unjuſt death are more in fault than I.

§. XIX. Alcamenes, king of the ſame people, being aſked, which was the way to get and preſerve honour? anſwered, To deſpiſe wealth. Another wondering why he refuſed the preſents of the Meſſenians, he anſwered, I make conſcience to keep the laws that forbid it. To a miſer accuſing him of being ſo reſerved in his diſcourſe, he ſaid, I had rather conform to reaſon, than

thy

thy covetousness; or, I had rather be covetous of my words than money.

§. XX. ALEXANDRIDAS hearing an exile complain of his banishment, saith he, Complain of the cause of it (to wit, his deserts); for there is nothing hurtful but vice. Being asked, why they were so long in making the process of criminals in Lacedæmonia? Because, saith he, when they are once dead they are past repentance. This shews their belief of immortality and eternal blessedness; and that even poor criminals, through repentance, may obtain it.

§. XXI. ANAXILAS would say, that the greatest advantage kings had over other men, was their power of excelling them in good deeds.

§. XXII. ARISTON, hearing one admire this expression, We ought to do good to our friends, and evil to our enemies; answered, By no means, we ought to do good to all; to keep our friends, and to gain our enemies. A doctrine the most difficult to flesh and blood, of all the precepts of Christ's sermon upon the mount: nay, not allowed to be his doctrine; but both 'An eye 'for an eye;' defended against his express command, and oftentimes an eye put out, and estate sequestered, and life taken away, under a specious zeal for religion too; as if sin could be christened, and impiety entitled to the doctrine of Christ. Oh, will not such Heathens rise up in judgment against our worldly Christians in the great day of God!

§. XXIII. ARCHIDAMUS, also king of Sparta, being asked, who was master of Lacedæmonia? The laws, saith he, and after them the magistrates.—One praising a musician in his presence, Ah! saith he, but when will you praise a good man?—Another saying, That man is an excellent musician: That is all one, saith he, as if thou wouldst say, There is a good cook: counting both trades of voluptuousness.—Another promising him some excellent wine: I care not, saith he, for it will only put my mouth out of taste to my ordinary liquor; which it seems was water.—Two men chose him an arbitrator; to accept it, he made them promise to do what

what he would have them: Then ſaid he, ſtir not from this place till you have agreed the matter between yourſelves; which was done.—Dennis, king of Sicily, ſending his daughters rich apparel, he forbad them to wear it, ſaying, You will ſeem to me but the more homely.—This great man certainly was not of the mind to bring up his children at the exchanges, dancing ſchools and play-houſes.

§. XXIV. CLEOMENES, king of the ſame people, would ſay, That kings ought to be pleaſant; but not to cheapneſs and contempt. He was ſo juſt a man in power, that he drove away Demaratus, his fellow king (for they always had two) for offering to corrupt him in a cauſe before them, Leſt, ſaith he, he ſhould attempt others leſs able to reſiſt him, and ſo ruin the ſtate.

§. XXV. DERSYLLIDAS perceiving that Pyrrhus would force a prince upon his countrymen the Lacedæmonians, whom they lately ejected, ſtoutly oppoſed him, ſaying, If thou art God, we fear thee not, becauſe we have done no evil: and if thou art but a man, we are men too.

§. XXVI. HIPPODAMUS, ſeeing a young man aſhamed, that was caught in bad company, he reproved him ſharply, ſaying, For time to come keep ſuch company as thou needeſt not bluſh at.

§. XXVII. LEONIDAS, brother to Cleomenes, and a brave man, being offered by Xerxes to be made an emperor of Greece, anſwered, I had rather die for my own country, than have an unjuſt command over other men's. Adding, Xerxes deceived himſelf, to think it a virtue to invade the right of other men.

§. XXVIII. LYSANDER, being aſked by a perſon what was the beſt frame of government? That, ſaith he, where every man hath according to his deſerts. Though one of the greateſt captains that Sparta bred, he had learned by his wiſdom to bear perſonal affronts: Say what thou wilt, ſaith he (to one that ſpoke abuſively to him) Empty thyſelf, I ſhall bear it. His daughters were contracted in marriage to ſome perſons of quality: but he dying poor, they refuſed to marry them; upon which the Ephori condemned each of them in a

great ſum of money, becauſe they preferred money before faith and engagement.

§. XXIX. PAUSANIAS, ſon of Cleombrotus, and colleague of Lyſander, beholding among the Perſian ſpoils they took, the coſtlineſs of their furniture, ſaid, It had been much better if they had been worth leſs, and their maſters more. And after the victory of Platea, having a dinner dreſt according to the Perſian manner, and beholding the magnificence and furniture of the treat; What, ſaith he, do theſe people mean, that live in ſuch wealth and luxury, to attack our meanneſs and poverty?

§. XXX. THEOPOMPUS ſaith, The way to preſerve a kingdom is, to embrace the counſel of one's friends, and not to ſuffer the meaner ſort to be oppreſſed. One making the glory of Sparta to conſiſt in commanding well, he anſwered, No, it is in knowing how to obey well. He was of opinion, That great honours hurt a ſtate; adding, That time would aboliſh great, and augment moderate, honours among men; meaning that men ſhould have the reputation they deſerve, without flattery and exceſs.

A rhetorician bragging himſelf of his art, was reproved by a Lacedæmonian, Doſt thou call that an art, ſaith he, which hath not truth for its object? Alſo a Lacedæmonian being preſented with an harp after dinner by a muſical perſon, I do not, ſaith he, know how to play the fool. Another being aſked, What he thought of a poet of the times, anſwered, Good for nothing but to corrupt youth. Nor was this only the wiſdom and virtue of ſome particular perſons, which may be thought to have given light to the dark body of their courts; but their government was wiſe and juſt, and the people generally obeyed it; making virtue to be true honour, and that honour dearer to them than life.

§. XXXI. LACEDÆMONIAN cuſtoms, according to Plutarch, were theſe: 'They were very temperate in 'their eating and drinking, their moſt delicate diſh 'being a pottage made for the nouriſhment of ancient 'people. They taught their children to write and read,

'read, to obey the magiſtrates, to endure labour, and
'to be bold in danger: the teachers of other ſciences
'were not ſo much as admitted in Lacedæmonia.
'They had but one garment, and that new but once a
'year. They rarely uſed baths or oil, the cuſtom of
'thoſe parts of the world. Their youth lay in troops
'upon mats; the boys and girls apart. They accuſ-
'tomed their youth to travel by night without light,
'to uſe them not to be afraid. The old governed the
'young; and thoſe of them who obeyed not the aged,
'were puniſhed. It was a ſhame not to bear reproof
'among the youth; and among the aged, matter of
'puniſhment not to give it. They made ordinary
'cheer, on purpoſe to keep out luxury; holding, that
'mean fare kept the ſpirit free, and the body fit for
'action. The muſic they uſed was ſimple, without
'art of changings; their ſongs compoſed of virtuous
'deeds of good men, and their harmony mixed with
'ſome religious extaſies, that ſeemed to carry their
'minds above the fear of death. They permitted
'not their youth to travel, leſt they ſhould corrupt
'their manners; and for the ſame reaſon, they per-
'mitted not ſtrangers to dwell amongſt them, that
'conformed not to their way of living. In this they
'were ſo ſtrict, that ſuch of their youth that were not
'educated in their cuſtoms, enjoyed not the privileges
'of natives. They would ſuffer neither comedies nor
'tragedies to be acted in their country. They con-
'demned a ſoldier but for painting his buckler of
'ſeveral colours: and publicly puniſhed a young man,
'for having learnt but the way to a town given to
'luxury. They alſo baniſhed an orator for bragging
'that he could ſpeak a whole day upon any ſubject;
'for they did not like much ſpeaking, much leſs for a
'bad cauſe. They buried their dead without any ce-
'remony or ſuperſtition; for they only uſed a red cloth
'upon the body, broidered with olive leaves: this burial
'had all degrees. Mourning they forbad, and epi-
'taphs too. When they prayed to God, they ſtretched
'forth their arms; which with them, was a ſign that they

'muſt

'must do good works, as well as make good prayers. 'They asked of God but two things, patience in labour, 'and happiness in well-doing.'

This account is mostly the same with Xenophon's: adding, 'that they eat moderately, and in common; 'the youth mixed with the aged, to awe them, and 'give them good example. That in walking, they 'would neither speak, nor turn their eyes aside, any 'more than if they were statues of marble. The men 'were bred bashful as well as the women, not speaking at meals, unless they were asked a question. 'When they were fifteen years of age, instead of leaving them to their own conduct, as in other places, 'they had most care of their conversation, that they 'might preserve them from the mischiefs that age is 'incident to. And those that would not comply with 'these rules, were not counted always honest people. 'And in this their government was excellent; That 'they thought there was no greater punishment for a 'bad man, than to be known and used as such, at all 'times, and in all places: for they were not to come 'into the company of persons of reputation: they 'were to give place to all others; to stand when others 'sat; to be accountable to every honest man that met 'them, of their conversation; that they must keep 'their poor kindred; that they used not the same 'freedoms that honest people might use: by which 'means they kept virtue in credit, and vice in contempt. They used all things necessary for life, without superfluity, or want; despising riches, and sumptuous apparel and living: judging, that the best ornament of the body is health; and of the mind, 'virtue. And since (saith Xenophon) it is virtue 'and temperance that render us commendable, and 'that it is only the Lacedæmonians that reverence it 'publicly, and have made it the foundation of their 'state; their government, of right, merits preference 'to any other in the world. But that, saith he, which 'is strange, is, that all admire it, but none imitate it.' Nor is this account and judgment fantastical.

§. XXXII.

§. XXXII. Lycurgus, their famous founder and lawgiver, inſtilled theſe principles, and by his power with them made them laws to rule them. Let us hear what he did: Lycurgus, willing to reclaim his citizens from a luxurious to a virtuous life, and ſhew them how much good conduct and honeſt induſtry might meliorate the ſtate of mankind, applied himſelf to introduce a new model of government, perſuading them to believe, that though they were deſcended of noble and virtuous anceſtors, if they were not exerciſed in a courſe of virtue, they would, like the dog in the kitchen, rather leap at the meat, than run at the game. In fine, they agreed to obey him. The firſt thing then that he did, to try his power with them, was, to divide the land into equal portions, ſo that the whole Laconic country ſeemed but the lots of brethren. This grieved the rich; but the poor, which were the moſt, rejoiced. He rendered wealth uſeleſs, by community; and forbad the uſe of gold and ſilver: he made money of iron, too baſe and heavy to make a thief: he retrenched their laws of building, ſuffering no more ornament than could be made with a hatchet and a ſaw: and their furniture was like their houſes. This courſe diſbanded many trades; no merchant, no cook, no lawyer, no flatterer, no divine, no aſtrologer, was to be found in Lacedæmonia. Injuſtice was baniſhed their ſociety, having cut up the root of it, which is avarice, by introducing a community, and making gold and ſilver uſeleſs. To prevent the luxury of tables as well as of apparel, he ordained public places of eating, where all ſhould publicly be ſerved; thoſe that refuſed to come thither were reputed voluptuous, and reproved, if not corrected. He would have virgins labour, as well as young men, that their bodies being uſed to exerciſe might be the ſtronger and healthier, when married, to bring forth children. He forbad that they ſhould have any portions, to the end that none might make ſuit to them for their wealth, but perſon and worth; by which means the poor went off as well as the rich: and that their virtue might prefer them,

they

they were denied to uſe any ornaments. He would not let the young people marry, till they arrived at the flower of their age, to the end, that their children might be ſtrong and vigorous. Chaſtity was ſo general, and ſo much in requeſt, that no law was made againſt adultery; believing, that where luxury, and the arts leading to it, were ſo ſeverely forbid, it was needleſs. He forbad coſtly offerings in the temple, that they might offer often; for that God regardeth the heart, not the offering. Theſe, and ſome more, were the laws he inſtituted; and whilſt the Spartans kept them, it is certain they were the firſt ſtate of Greece, which laſted about five hundred years. It is remarkable that he would never ſuffer the laws to be written, to avoid barratry; and that the judges might not be tied religiouſly to the letter of the law, but left to the circumſtances of fact; in which no inconvenience was obſerved to follow.

II. The Romans alſo yield us inſtances to our point in hand.

§. XXXIII. Cato, that ſage Roman, ſeeing a luxurious man loaded with fleſh, Of what ſervice, ſaith he, can that man be, either to himſelf, or the common-wealth? One day beholding the ſtatues of ſeveral perſons erecting, that he thought little worthy of remembrance, that he might deſpiſe the pride of it; I had rather, ſaid he, they ſhould aſk, why they ſet not up a ſtatue to Cato, than why they do. He was a man of ſeverity of life, both example and judge. His competitors in the government, hoping to be preferred, took the contrary humour, and mightily flattered the people: this good man deſpiſed their arts, and with an unuſual fervency cried out, That the diſtempers of the common-wealth did not require flatterers to deceive them, but phyſicians to cure them; which ſtruck ſo great an awe upon the people, that he was firſt choſen of them all. The fine dames of Rome became governors to their huſbands; he lamented the change, ſaying, It is ſtrange that thoſe who command the world ſhould yet

yet be subject to women. He thought those judges, that would not impartially punish malefactors, greater criminals than the malefactors themselves: a good lesson for judges of the world. He would say, That it was better to lose a gift than a correction: for, says he, the one corrupts us, but the other instructs us. That we ought not to separate honour from virtue; for then there would be few any more virtuous. He would say, No man is fit to command another, that cannot command himself. Great men should be temperate in their power, that they may keep it. For men to be too long in offices in a government, is to have too little regard to others, or the dignity of the state. They that do nothing will learn to do evil. That those who have raised themselves by their vices should gain to themselves credit by virtue. He repented him, that ever he passed one day without doing good. And that there is no witness any man ought to fear, but that of his own conscience. Nor did his practice fall much short of his principles.

§. XXXIV. Scipio Africanus, though a great general, loaded with honours and triumphs, preferred retirement to them all: being used to say, That he was never less alone than when he was alone: implying, that the most busy men of the world are the most destitute of themselves; and that external solitariness gives the best company within. After he had taken Carthage, his soldiers brought him a most beautiful prisoner; he answered, 'I am your general;' refusing to debase himself, or dishonour her.

§. XXXV. Augustus, eating at the table of one of his friends, where a poor slave breaking a crystal vessel fell upon his knees, begging him, that his master might not fling him to the lampreys, as he had used to do, for food, with such of them as offended him; Augustus, hating his friend's cruelty, broke all his friend's crystal vessels, both reproving his luxury and his severity. He never recommended any of his own children, but he always added, if they deserve it. He reproved his daughter for her excess in apparel, and both rebuked and imprisoned

priſoned her for her immodeſt latitudes. The people of Rome complaining that wine was dear, he ſent them to the fountains, telling them, They were cheap.

§. XXXVI. TIBERIUS would not ſuffer himſelf to be called Lord, nor yet His Sacred Majeſty: For, ſays he, they are divine titles, and belong not to man. The commiſſioners of his treaſury adviſing him to increaſe his taxes upon the people, he anſwered, No, it was fit to ſhear, but not to flay the ſheep.

§. XXXVII. VESPASIAN was a great and an extraordinary man, who maintained ſomething of the Roman virtue in his time. One day ſeeing a young man finely dreſſed, and richly perfumed, he was diſpleaſed with him, ſaying, I had rather ſmell the poor man's garlic, than thy perfume: and took his place and government from him. A certain perſon being brought before him, that had conſpired againſt him, he reproved him, and ſaid, That it was God who gave and took away empires. Another time, conferring favour upon his enemy, and being aſked why he did ſo? he anſwered, That he ſhould remember the right way.

§. XXXVIII. TRAJAN would ſay, That it became an Emperor to act towards his people, as he would have his people act towards him. The governor of Rome having delivered the ſword into his hand, and created him emperor, Here, ſaith he, take it again: if I reign well uſe it for me: if ill, uſe it againſt me. An expreſſion which ſhews great humility and goodneſs, making power ſubſervient to virtue.

§. XXXIX. ADRIAN, alſo emperor, had ſeveral ſayings worthy of notice: one was, That a good prince did not think the eſtates of his ſubjects belonged to him. He would ſay, That kings ſhould not always act the king: that is, ſhould be juſt, and mix ſweetneſs with greatneſs, and be converſible by good men. That the treaſures of princes are like the ſpleen, that never ſwells but it makes other parts ſhrink: teaching princes thereby to ſpare their ſubjects. Meeting one that was his enemy before he was emperor, he cried out to him,

Now

Now thou haſt no more to fear: intimating, that having power to revenge himſelf, he would rather uſe it to do him good.

§. XL. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, a good man (the Chriſtians of his time felt it) commended his ſon for weeping at his tutor's death; anſwering thoſe that would have rendered it unſuitable to his condition, Let him alone, ſays he, it is fit he ſhould ſhew himſelf a man, before he be a prince. He refuſed to divorce his wife at the inſtigation of his courtiers, though reputed naught; anſwering, I muſt divorce the empire too; for ſhe brought it: refuſing them, and defending his tenderneſs. He did nothing in the government without conſulting his friends; and would ſay, It is more juſt that one ſhould follow the advice of many, than many the mind of one. He was more philoſopher than emperor; for his dominions were greater within than without: and having commanded his own paſſions by a circumſpect conformity to virtuous principles, he was fit to rule thoſe of other men. Take ſome of his excellent ſayings, as followeth.—Of my grandfather Verus I have learned to be gentle and meek, and to refrain from all anger and paſſion. From the fame and memory of him that begot me, ſhame-facedneſs and man-like behaviour. I obſerved his meekneſs, his conſtancy without wavering, in thoſe things, which after a due examination and deliberation he had determined; how free from all vanity he carried himſelf in matter of honour and dignity! his laborioufneſs and aſſiduity! his readineſs to hear any man that had ought to ſay tending to any common good! how he did abſtain from all unchaſte love of youth! his moderate condeſcending to other men's occaſions as an ordinary man Of my mother, to be religious and bountiful, and to forbear not only to do, but to intend any evil: to content myſelf with a ſpare diet, and to fly all ſuch exceſs as is incident to great wealth. Of my grandfather both to frequent public ſchools and auditories, and to get me good and able teachers at home; and that I ought not to think much, if upon ſuch occaſions I

were at exceſſive charge. I gave over the ſtudy of rhetoric and poetry, and of elegant neat language. I did not uſe to walk about the houſe in my ſenator's robe, nor to do any ſuch things. I learned to write letters without any affectation and curioſity; and to be eaſy and ready to be reconciled, and well pleaſed again with them that had offended me, as ſoon as any of them would be content to ſeek unto me again. To obſerve carefully the ſeveral diſpoſitions of my friends, and not to be offended with ideots, nor unreaſonably to ſet upon thoſe that are carried away with the vulgar opinions, with the theorems and tenets of philoſophers. To love the truth and juſtice, and to be kind and loving to all them of my houſe and family, I learned from my brother Severus: and it was he that put me in the firſt conceit and deſire of an equal commonwealth, adminiſtered by juſtice and equality; and of a kingdom, wherein ſhould be regarded nothing more than the good and welfare (or liberty) of the ſubjects. As for God, and ſuch ſuggeſtions, helps and inſpirations, as might be expected, nothing did hinder but that I might have begun long before to live according to nature. Or that even now, that I was not yet partaker, and in preſent poſſeſſion of that life, that I myſelf (in that I did not obſerve thoſe inward motions and ſuggeſtions; yea, and almoſt plain and apparent inſtructions and admonitions of God) was the only cauſe of it. I that underſtand the nature of that which is good, that it is to be deſired; and of that which is bad, that it is odious and ſhameful; who know moreover, that this tranſgreſſor, whoſoever he be, is my kinſman, not by the ſame blood and ſeed, but by participation of the ſame Reaſon, and of the ſame Divine Particle, or Principle: how can I either be hurt by any of theſe, ſince it is not in their power to make me incur any thing that is reproachful, or be angry and ill-affected towards him, who, by nature is ſo near unto me? for we are all born to be fellow-workers, as the feet, the hands, and the eyelids; as the rows of upper and under teeth: for ſuch therefore to be in oppoſition, is againſt nature. He

ſaith,

faith, it is high time for thee to understand the true nature, both of the world, whereof thou art a part, and of that Lord and Governor of the world, from whom, as a channel from the spring, thou thyself didst flow. And that there is but a certain limit of time appointed unto thee, which if thou shalt not make use of, to calm and allay the many distempers of thy soul, it will pass away, and thou with it, and never after return. Do, soul, do abuse and contemn thyself yet a while! and the time for thee to repent thyself will be at an end! Every man's happiness depends upon himself; but behold, thy life is almost at an end, whilst, not regarding thyself as thou oughtest, thou dost make thy happiness to consist in the souls and conceits of other men. Thou must also take heed of another kind of wandering; for they are idle in their actions who toil and labour in their life, and have no certain scope to which to direct all their motions and desires. As for life and death, honour and dishonour, labour and pleasure, riches and poverty, all these things happen unto men indeed, both good and bad equally, but as things which of themselves are neither good nor bad, because of themselves neither shameful nor praise-worthy. Consider the nature of all worldly visible things; of those especially, which either ensnare by pleasure, or for their irksomeness are dreadful, or for their outward lustre and shew are in great esteem and request; how vile and contemptible, how base and corruptible, how destitute of all true life and being they are. There is nothing more wretched than that soul, which, in a kind of circuit, compasseth all things; searching even the very depths of all the earth, and, by all signs and conjectures, prying into the very thoughts of other men's souls; and yet of this is not sensible, that it is sufficient for a man to apply himself wholly, and confine all his thoughts and cares to the guidance of that Spirit which is within him, and truly and really serve him. For even the least things ought not to be done without relation to the end: and the end of the reasonable creature is, To follow and obey him who is the reason

reaſon, as it were, and the law, of this great city and moſt ancient commonwealth. Philoſophy doth conſiſt in this: For a man to preſerve that ſpirit which is within him from all manner of contumelies and injuries, and above all pains and pleaſures; never to do any thing either raſhly, or feignedly, or hypocritically; he that is ſuch, is He ſurely: indeed a very prieſt and miniſter of God; well acquainted, and in good correſpondence, with him eſpecially that is ſeated and placed within himſelf: to whom alſo he keeps and preſerveth himſelf, neither ſpotted by pleaſure, nor daunted by pain; free from any manner of wrong or contumely. Let thy God that is in thee, to rule over thee, find by thee that he hath to do with a man, an aged man, a ſociable man, a Roman, a prince, and that hath ordered his life as one that expecteth, as it were, nothing but the ſound of the trumpet, ſounding a retreat to depart out of this life with all readineſs. Never eſteem of any thing as profitable, which ſhall ever conſtrain thee either to break thy faith or to loſe thy modeſty; to hate any man, to ſuſpect, to curſe, to diſſemble, to luſt after any thing that requireth the ſecret of walls or veils. But he that preferreth before all things his rational part and ſpirit, and the ſacred myſteries of virtue which iſſue from it, he ſhall never want either ſolitude or company; and, which is chiefeſt of all, he ſhall live without either deſire or fear. If thou ſhalt intend that which is preſent, following the rule of right and reaſon, carefully, ſolidly, meekly; and ſhall not intermix any other buſineſs; but ſhalt ſtudy this, to preſerve thy ſpirit unpolluted and pure; and, as one that were even now ready to give up the ghoſt, ſhalt cleave unto him, without either hope or fear of any thing, in all things that thou ſhalt either do or ſpeak; contenting thyſelf with heroical truth, thou ſhalt live happily: and from this there is no man that can hinder thee. Without relation to God, thou ſhalt never perform aright any thing human; nor, on the other ſide, any thing divine. At what time ſoever thou wilt, it is in thy power to retire into thyſelf, and to be at reſt; for a man cannot retire any whither

to

to be more at reſt, and freer from all buſineſs, than into his own ſoul. Afford then thyſelf this retiring continually, and thereby refreſh and renew thyſelf. Death hangeth over thee whilſt yet thou liveſt; and, whilſt thou mayeſt, be good. How much time and leiſure doth he gain, who is not curious to know what his neighbour hath ſaid, or hath done, or hath attempted, but only what he doth himſelf, that it may be juſt and holy. Neither muſt he uſe himſelf to cut off actions only, but thoughts and imaginations alſo that are not neceſſary; for ſo will unneceſſary conſequent actions the better be prevented and cut off. He is poor that ſtands in need of another, and hath not in himſelf all things needful for his life. Conſider well, whether magnanimity rather, and true liberty, and true ſimplicity, and equanimity, and holineſs, whether theſe be not moſt reaſonable and natural. Honour that which is chiefeſt and moſt powerful in the world, and that is it which makes uſe of all things, and governs all things: ſo alſo in thyſelf, honour that which is chiefeſt and moſt powerful, and is of one kind and nature with that; for it is the very ſame, which being in thee, turneth all other things to its own uſe, and by whom alſo thy life is governed. What is it that thou doſt ſtay for; an extinction, or a tranſlation? for either of them, with a propitious and contented mind. But till that time come, what will content thee? what elſe, but to worſhip and praiſe God, and to do good unto men? As he lay a-dying, and his friends about him, he ſpake thus: Think more of death than of me, and that you and all men muſt die, as well as I. Adding, I recommend my ſon to you, and to God, if he be worthy.

§. XLI. PERTINAX, alſo emperor, being adviſed to ſave himſelf from the fury of the mutineers, anſwered, No, what have I done that I ſhould do ſo? ſhewing, that innocence is bold, and ſhould never give ground where it can ſhew itſelf, be heard, and have fair play.

§. XLII. PES-

§. XLII. PESCENNIUS, seeing the corruption that reigned among officers of justice, advised, That judges should have first salaries that they might do their duty without any bribes or perquisites. He said, He would not offend the living, that he might be praised when he was dead.

§. XLIII. ALEXANDER SEVERUS, having tasted both of a private life, and the state of an emperor, had this censure, Emperors, says he, are ill managers of the public revenue, to feed so many unuseful mouths. Wherefore he retrenched his family from pompous to serviceable. He would not employ persons of quality in his domestic service, thinking it too mean for them, and too costly for him: adding, That personal service was the work of the lowest order of the people. He would never suffer offices of justice to be sold: For, saith he, it is not strange that men should sell what they buy; meaning justice. He was impartial in correction: My friends, says he, are dear to me, but the commonwealth is dearer. Yet he would say, That sweetening power to the people made it lasting. That we ought to gain our enemies, as we keep our friends; that is, by kindness. He said, That we ought to desire happiness, and to bear afflictions: that those things which are desirable may be pleasant: but the troubles we avoid may have most profit in the end. He did not like pomp in religion; for it is not gold that recommends the sacrifice, but the piety of him that offers it. An house being in contest betwixt some Christians and keepers of taverns, the one to perform religion, the other to sell drink therein, he decided the matter thus: That it were much better that it were any way employed to worship God, than to make a tavern of it. Behold! by this we may see the wisdom and virtue that shined among Heathens.

§. XLIV. AURELIANUS, the emperor, having threatened a certain town that had rebelled against him, That he would not leave a dog alive therein; and finding the fear he raised brought them easily to their duty, bid his soldiers go kill all their dogs, and pardon the people.

§. XLV. DIO-

§. XLV. DIOCLESIAN would say, That there was nothing more difficult than to reign well; and the reason he gave was, That those who had the ears of princes do so continually lay ambushes to surprise them to their interests, that they can hardly make one right step.

§. XLVI. JULIAN, coming to the empire, drove from the palace troops, of eunuchs, cooks, barbers, &c. His reason was this, That having no women he needed no eunuchs; and loving simple plain meat, he needed no cooks: and he said, One barber would serve a great many. A good example for the luxurious Christians of our times.

§. XLVII. THEODOSIUS the younger was so merciful in his nature, that instead of putting people to death, he wished it were in his power to call the dead to life again.

These were the sentiments of the ancient grandees of the world, to wit, emperors, kings, princes, captains, statesmen, &c. not unworthy of the thoughts of persons of the same figure and quality now in being: and for that end they are here collected, that such may with more ease and brevity behold the true statues of the ancients, not lost, or lessened by the decays of time.

III. I will now proceed to report the virtuous doctrines and sayings of men of more retirement; such as philosophers and writers, of both Greeks and Romans, who in their respective times were masters in the civility, knowledge and virtue that were among the Gentiles, being most of them many ages before the coming of Christ.

§. XLVIII. THALES, an ancient Greek philosopher, being asked by a person that had committed adultery, if he might swear? answered, By no means; for perjury is not less sinful than adultery; and so thou wouldest commit two sins to cover one. Being asked, What was the best condition of a government? he answered, That the people be neither rich nor poor; for he placed external happiness in moderation. He would say, That the hardest thing in the world was, to know a man's self;

ſelf; but the beſt, to avoid thoſe things which we reprove in others: an excellent and cloſe ſaying. That we ought to chooſe well, and then to hold faſt. That the felicity of the body conſiſts in health, and that in temperance; and the felicity of the ſoul in wiſdom. He thought that God was without beginning or end; that he was the ſearcher of hearts; that he ſaw thoughts, as well as actions: for being aſked of one if he could ſin and hide it from God? he anſwered, No, how can I, when he that thinks evil cannot?

§. XLIX. PYTHAGORAS, a famous and virtuous philoſopher of Italy, being aſked, when men might take the pleaſure of their paſſions? anſwered, When they have a mind to be worſe. He ſaid, The world was like a comedy, and the true philoſophers the ſpectators. He would ſay, That luxury led to debauchery, and debauchery to violence, and that to bitter repentance. That he who taketh too much care of his body makes the priſon of his ſoul more inſufferable. That thoſe who do reprove us are our beſt friends. That men ought to preſerve their bodies from diſeaſes by temperance? their ſouls from ignorance by meditation; their will from vice, by ſelf-denial; and their country from civil war, by juſtice. That it is better to be loved than feared. That virtue makes bold: But ſaith he, there is nothing ſo fearful as an evil conſcience. He ſaid, That men ſhould believe of a divinity, that it is, and that it overlooks them, and neglecteth them not; there is no being nor place without God. He told the ſenators of Crotonia (being two thouſand) praying his advice, That they received their country as a depoſitum or truſt from the people; wherefore they ſhould manage it accordingly, ſince they were to reſign their account, with their truſt to their own children. That the way to do it, was to be equal to all the citizens, and to excel them in nothing more than juſtice. That every one of them ſhould ſo govern their family, that he might refer himſelf to his own houſe, as to a court of judicature, taking great care to preſerve natural affection. That they be examples of temperance in their own

own families, and to the city. That in courts of judicature none attest God by an Oath, but use themselves so to speak, as they may be believed without an oath. That the discourse of that philosopher is vain, by which no passion of man is healed: for, as there is no benefit of medicine, if it expel not diseases out of bodies; so neither of philosophy, if it expel not evil out of the soul. Of God, an heavenly life and state, he saith thus, They mutually exhorted one another, that they should not tear asunder 'God which is in them.' Their study and friendship by words and actions, had reference to some divine temperament; and to union with God, and to unity with the mind, and the Divine Soul. That all which they determine to be done aims and tends to the acknowledgment of the Deity. This is the principle; and the whole life of man consists in this, 'That he follow God;' and this is the ground of philosophy. He saith,

Hope all things; for to none belongs despair:
All things to God easy and perfect are.

The work of the Mind is life. The work of God is immortality, eternal life. The Mind in man is termed God, by participation: the rational soul, is directed by the Mind, it inclines the will to virtue, and is termed the good Dæmon, Genius, or Spirit. If by phantasy and ill affections, it draws the will to vices, the evil Dæmon: whence Pythagoras desired of God, to keep us from evil, and to shew every one the Dæmon or good Spirit, he ought to use. The rational man is more noble than other creatures, as more divine; not content solely with one operation (as all other things drawn along by nature, which always acts after the same manner) but endued with various gifts, which he useth according to his free will; in respect of which liberty,

——Men are of heavenly race,
Taught by Diviner Nature what t'embrace.

By Diviner Nature, is meant the intellectual soul; as to intellect, man approaches nigh to God; as to inferior

ſenſes, he recedeth from God. By chorus, the infinite joy of the bleſſed ſpirits, their immutable delight, ſtiled by Homer, ἄσβεστος γέλως (inextinguiſhable laughter). For what greater pleaſure, than to behold the ſerene aſpect of God, and next him the ideas and forms of all things, more purely and tranſparently, than ſecondarily, in created beings. The Pythagoreans had this diſtich, among thoſe commonly called the Golden Verſes:

Rid of this body, if the heavens free
You reach, henceforth immortal you ſhall be.
Or thus:
Who after death, arrive at th' heavenly plain,
Are ſtraight like Gods, and never die again.

§. L. Solon, eſteemed, as Thales, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, a noble philoſopher, and a law-giver to the Athenians, was ſo humble, that he refuſed to be prince of that people, and voluntarily baniſhed himſelf, when Piſiſtratus uſurped the government there: reſolving never to out-live the laws and freedom of his country.* He would ſay, That to make a government laſt, the magiſtrates muſt obey the laws, and the people the magiſtrates. It was his judgment, that riches brought luxury, and luxury brought tyranny. Being aſked by Crœſus, king of Lydia, when ſeated in his throne, richly clothed, and magnificently attended, if he had ever ſeen any thing more glorious? He anſwered, Cocks, peacocks, and pheaſants; by how much their beauty is natural. Theſe undervaluing expreſſions of wiſe Solon meeting ſo pat upon the pride and luxury of Crœſus, they parted: the one deſirous of toys and vanities; the other an example and inſtructor of true nobility and virtue, that condemned the king's effeminacy. Another time Crœſus aſked him, who was the happieſt man in the world? expecting he ſhould have ſaid, Crœſus, becauſe the moſt famous for wealth in thoſe parts; he anſwered, Tellus; who, though

* Plutarch. Herod.

though poor, yet was an honeſt and good man, and contented with what he had: that after he had ſerved the commonwealth faithfully, and ſeen his children and grand-children virtuouſly educated, died for his country in a good old age, and was carried by his children to his grave.† This much diſpleaſed Crœſus, but he diſſembled it. Whilſt Solon recommended the happineſs of Tellus, Crœſus, moved, demanded whom he aſſigned the next place to (making no queſtion but himſelf ſhould be named) Cleobis, ſaith he, and Bito; brethren that loved well, had a competency, were of great health and ſtrength, moſt tender and obedient to their mother, religious of life; who, after ſacrificing in the temple, fell aſleep, and waked no more. Hereat Crœſus, growing angry, Strange! ſaith he; doth our happineſs ſeem ſo deſpicable, that thou wilt not rank us equal with private perſons? Solon anſwered, Doſt thou inquire of us about human affairs? knoweſt thou not, that Divine Providence is ſevere, and often full of alteration? Do not we, in proceſs of time, ſee many things we would not? Aye, and ſuffer many things we would not? Count man's life at ſeventy years, which makes ‡ twenty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty and odd days, there is ſcarcely one day like another: ſo that every one, O Crœſus, is attended with croſſes. Thou appeareſt to me very rich, and king over many people: but the queſtion thou aſkeſt, I cannot reſolve, till I hear thou haſt ended thy days happily; for he that hath much wealth is not happier than he that gets his bread from day to day; unleſs Providence continue thoſe good things, and that he dieth well. In every thing, O king, we muſt have regard to the end; for man, to whom God diſpenſeth worldly good things, he at laſt utterly deſerts. Solon, after his diſcourſe, not flattering Crœſus, was diſmiſſed, and accounted unwiſe, that he neglected the preſent good, out of regard to the future. Æſop, that wrote the Fables, being then at Sardis, ſent for thither by Crœſus,

† Plutarch. Laert. ‡ According to the Athenian account.

Crœsus, and much in favour with him, was grieved to see Solon so unthankfully dismissed: and said to him, Solon, We must either tell kings nothing at all, or what may please them: No, saith Solon, either nothing at all, or what is best for them. However, it was not long ere Crœsus was of another mind, for being taken prisoner by Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, and by his command fettered and put on a pile of wood to be burned, Crœsus sighed deeply, and cried, O Solon, Solon! Cyrus bid the interpreter ask on whom he called? He was silent; but at last, pressing him answered, Upon him, whom I desire, above all wealth, to have spoken with all tyrants. This not understood, upon farther importunity he told them, Solon, an Athenian; who long since, says he, came to me, and seeing my wealth, despised it; besides, what he told me is come to pass: nor did his counsel belong to me alone, but to all mankind, especially those that think themselves happy. Whilst Crœsus said thus, the fire began to kindle, and the out-parts to be seized by the flame: Cyrus, informed of the interpreters what Crœsus said, began to be troubled; and knowing himself to be a man, and that to use another, not inferior to himself in wealth, so severely, might one day be retaliated, instantly commanded the fire to be quenched, and Crœsus and his friends to be brought off; whom, ever after, as long as he lived, Cyrus had in great esteem.‖ Thus Solon gained due praise, that of two kings; his advice saved one, and instructed the other. And as it was in Solon's time that Tragical plays were first invented, so was he most severe against them; foreseeing the inconveniences that followed, upon the people's being affected with that novelty of pleasure. It is reported of him, that he went himself to the play, and after it was ended, he went to Thespis, the great actor, and asked him, If he were not ashamed to tell so many lies in the face of so great an auditory? Thespis answered,

‖ Herodot. Halicar.

anſwered, as it is now uſual, There is no harm nor ſhame to act ſuch things in jeſt. Solon, ſtriking his ſtaff hard upon the ground, replied, But in a ſhort time, we who approve of this kind of jeſt ſhall uſe it in earneſt in our common affairs and contracts. In fine, he abſolutely forbad him to teach or act plays: conceiving them deceitful and unprofitable; diverting youth and tradeſmen from more neceſſary and virtuous employments. He defined them happy, who are competently furniſhed with their outward callings, that live temperately and honeſtly. He would ſay, That cities are the common ſhore of wickedneſs. He affirmed that to be the beſt family, which got not unjuſtly, kept not unfaithfully, ſpent not with repentance. Obſerve (ſaith he) honeſty in thy converſation, 'more ſtrictly than an Oath.' Seal words with ſilence; ſilence with opportunity. Never lie, but ſpeak the truth. Fly pleaſure, for it brings ſorrow. Adviſe not the people what is moſt pleaſant, but what is beſt. Make not friends in haſte, nor haſtily part with them. Learn to obey, and thou wilt know how to command. Be arrogant to none; be mild to thoſe that are about thee. Converſe not with wicked perſons. Meditate on ſerious things. Reverence thy parents. Cheriſh thy friend. Conform to reaſon; and in all things take counſel of God. In fine, his two ſhort ſentences were theſe, Of nothing Too much; and Know Thyſelf.*

§. LI. CHILON, another of the wiſe men of Greece, would ſay, That it was the perfection of a man to foreſee and prevent miſchiefs. That herein good people differ from bad ones, their hopes were firm and aſſured. That God was the great touch-ſtone, or rule of mankind. That men's tongues ought not to outrun their judgment. That we ought not to flatter great men, leſt we exalt them above their merit and ſtation; nor to ſpeak hardly of the helpleſs. They that would govern a ſtate well, muſt govern their families

* Stob. Sent. 3. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.

milies well. He would say, That a man ought so to behave himself, that he fall neither into hatred nor disgrace. That that commonwealth is happiest, where the people mind the law more than the lawyers. Men should not forget the favours they receive, nor remember those they do. Three things he said were difficult, yet necessary to be observed. To keep secrets, forgive injuries, and use time well. Speak not ill, (says he) of thy neighbours. Go slowly to the feasts of thy friends, but swiftly to their troubles. Speak well of the dead. Shun busy-bodies. Prefer loss before covetous gain. Despise not the miserable. If powerful, behave thyself mildly, that thou mayest be loved, rather than feared. Order thy house well: bridle thy anger; grasp not at much: make not haste, neither doat upon any thing below. A Prince (saith he) must not take up his time about transitory and mortal things; eternal and immortal are fittest for him. To conclude: he was so just in all his actions, that Laertius tells us, he professed in his old age, that he had never done any thing contrary to the conscience of an upright man; only that of one thing he was doubtful, having given sentence against his friend, according to law, he advised his friend to appeal from him (his judge) so to preserve both his friend and the law. Thus true and tender was conscience in Heathen Chilon.

§. LII. PERIANDER (a prince and philosopher too) would say, That pleasures are mortal, but virtues immortal. In success be moderate; in disappointments, patient and prudent. Be alike to thy friends, in prosperity and in adversity. Peace is good; rashness dangerous; gain, sordid. Betray not secrets. Punish the guilty: Restrain men from sin. They that would rule safely must be guarded by love, not arms. To conclude, saith he, live worthy of praise, so wilt thou die blessed.*

§. LIII. BIAS, one of the Seven Wise Men, being in a storm with wicked men, who cried mightily to God; Hold

* Baart. Suid. Protag. Stob. 2 S.

Hold your tongues, ſaith he, it were better he knew not you were here :* a ſaying that hath great doctrine in it; the devotion of the wicked doth them no good: it anſwers to that paſſage in ſcripture, 'The prayers of 'the wicked are an abomination to the Lord,'[a] An ungodly man aſking him, What godlineſs was? he was ſilent; but the other murmuring, ſaith he, What is that to thee? that is not thy concern. He was ſo tender in his nature, that he ſeldom judged any criminal to death, but he wept; adding, One part goeth to God, and the other part I muſt give the law. That man is unhappy, ſaith he, that cannot bear affliction. It is a diſeaſe of the mind, to deſire that which cannot, or is not fit to be had. It is an ill thing not to be mindful of other men's miſeries. To one who aſked, What is hard? he anſwered, To bear cheerfully a change for the worſe. Thoſe, ſays he, who buſy themſelves in vain knowledge, reſemble owls that ſee by night, and are blind by day; for they are ſharp-ſighted in vanity, but dark at the approach of true light and knowledge. He adds, Undertake deliberately; but then go through. Speak not haſtily, leſt thou ſin. Be neither ſilly nor ſubtil. Hear much; ſpeak little, and ſeaſonably. Make profeſſion of God every where; and impute the good thou doſt, not to thyſelf, but to the power of God. His country being invaded, and the people flying with the beſt of their goods, aſked, Why he carried none of his? I, ſaith he, carry my goods within me. Valerius Maximus adds, In his breaſt; not to be ſeen by the eye, but to be prized by the ſoul; not to be demoliſhed by mortal hands: preſent with them that ſtay, and not forſaking thoſe that fly.

§. LIV. CLEOBULUS, a prince and philoſopher of Lyndus. He would ſay, That it was man's duty to be always employed upon ſomething that was good. Again, Be never vain nor ungrateful. Beſtow your daughters virgins in years, but matrons in diſcretion. Do good to thy friend, to keep him; to thy enemy, to gain him. When any man goeth forth, let him conſider what he hath

* Laert. Stob. [a] Prov. xv. 8.

hath to do; when he returneth, examine what he hath done. Know, that to reverence thy father is thy duty. Hear willingly, but truſt not haſtily. Obtain by perſuaſion, not by violence. Being rich, be not exalted; poor, be not dejected. Forego enmity, inſtruct thy children: pray to God, and perſevere in godlineſs.*

§. LV. PITTACUS being aſked, What was beſt? he anſwered, To do the preſent thing well. He would ſay, What thou doſt take ill in thy neighbour, do not thyſelf. Reproach not the unhappy; for the hand of God is upon them. Be true to thy truſt. Bear with thy neighbour; love thy neighbour. Reproach not thy friend, though he recede from thee a little. He would ſay, That commonwealth is beſt ordered, where the wicked have no command; and that family, which hath neither ornament nor neceſſity. To conclude: he adviſed to acquire honeſty; love diſcipline; obſerve temperance; gain prudence; mind diligence; and keep truth, faith, and piety. He had a brother, who dying without iſſue, left him his eſtate; ſo that when Crœſus offered him wealth, he anſwered, I have more by half than I deſire. He alſo affirmed That family the beſt, who got not unjuſtly, kept not unfaithfully, ſpent not with repentance: and, That happineſs conſiſts in a virtuous and honeſt life, with being content with a competency of outward things, and in uſing them temperately. And to conclude, he earneſtly enjoined all to flee corporal pleaſure; for, ſays he, it certainly brings ſorrow: but to obſerve an honeſt life more ſtrictly than an oath; and meditate on ſerious things.†

§. LVI. HIPPIAS, a philoſopher: It is recorded of him, that he would have every one provide his own neceſſaries: and, that he might do what he taught, he was his own tradeſman. He was ſingular in all ſuch arts and employments, inſomuch that he made the very

* Laert. Plut. Sympoſ. Sap. Sep. Stob. Ser. † Plutarch. Stob. 28.

very buſkins he wore ‡ A better life than an Alexander's.

§. LVII. The Gymnoſophiſtæ were a ſect of philoſophers in Egypt, that ſo deſpiſed gaudy apparel, and the reſt of the world's intemperance, that they went almoſt naked; living poorly, and with great meanneſs: by which they were enabled againſt all cold, and overcame that luſt by innocence, which people, that are called Chriſtians, though covered, are overcome withal.*

§. LVIII. The Bambycatii were a certain great people that inhabited about the river Tigris, in Aſia; who obſerving the great influence gold, ſilver, and precious jewels had upon their minds, agreed to bury all in the earth, to prevent the corruption of their manners. They uſed inferior metals, and lived with very ordinary accommodation: wearing moſtly but one very grave and plain robe to cover nakedneſs. It were well, if Chriſtians would mortify their unſatiable appetites after wealth and vanity any way, for Heathens judge their exceſs.†

§. LIX. The Athenians had two diſtinct numbers of men, called the Gynæcoſmi and Gynæconomi. Theſe were appointed by the magiſtrates to overlook the actions of the people: the firſt was to ſee that they apparelled and behaved themſelves gravely; eſpecially that women were of modeſt behaviour: and the other was to be preſent at their treats and feſtivals, to ſee that there was no exceſs, nor diſorderly carriage: and in caſe any were found criminal, they had full power to puniſh them.‖ When, alas! when ſhall this care and wiſdom be ſeen among the Chriſtians of theſe times, that ſo intemperance might be prevented? But it is too evident they love the power and the profits, but deſpiſe the virtue of government; making it an end, inſtead of a means to that happy end, viz. The well-ordering the manners and converſation of the

‡ Cic. lib. de Orat. * Plin. 7 2 Cic. Tuſc. Queſt. 5 † Plin. ‖ Vid. Suid.

people, and equally distributing rewards and punishments.

§. LX. ANACHARSIS, a Scythian, was a great philosopher; Crœsus offered him large sums of money, but he refused them. Hanno did the like; to whom he answered, My apparel is a Scythian rug: my shoes the hardness of my feet; my bed, the earth; my sauce, hunger: you may come to me as one that is contented; but those gifts which you so much esteem, bestow either on your citizens, or in sacrifice to the immortal Gods.*

§. LXI. ANAXAGORAS, a nobleman, but true philosopher, left his great patrimony to seek out wisdom: and being reproved by his friends for the little care he had of his estate, answered, It is enough that You care for it. One asked him, Why he had no more love for his country than to leave it? Wrong me not, saith he, my greatest care is my country, pointing his finger towards heaven. Returning home, and taking a view of his great possessions, If I had not disregarded them (saith he) I had perished. He was a great clearer and improver of the doctrine of One Eternal God, denying divinity to sun, moon, and stars; saying, God was infinite, not confined to place; the Eternal Wisdom and Efficient Cause of all things; the Divine Mind and Understanding; who, when matter was confused, came and reduced it to order, which is the world we see.† He suffered much from some magistrates for his opinion; yet, dying, was admired by them: his epitaph in English thus:

Here lies, who through the truest paths did pass
To th' world cœlestial, Anaxagoras.

§. LXII. HERACLITUS was invited by king Darius, for his great virtue and learning, to this effect; Come, as soon as thou canst, to my presence and royal palace; for the Greeks, for the most part, are not obsequious to

* Cic. Tus. Quest. 5 Clem. Alex. Strob. Lysand. Cic. Tus. Quest. 5.

† Plut. contra Usur.

to wife men, but defpife the good things which they deliver. With me thou fhalt have the firft place, and daily honour and titles: thy way of living fhall be as noble as thy inftructions. But Heraclitus refufing his offer returned this anfwer; Heraclitus to Darius the king, health. Moft men refrain from juftice and truth, and purfue infatiablenefs and vain-glory, by reafon of their folly; but I, having forgot all evil, and fhunning the fociety of inbred envy and pride, will never come to the kingdom of Perfia, being contented with a little, according to my own mind. He alfo flighted the Athenians. He had great and clear apprehenfions of the nature and power of God, maintaining his divinity againft the idolatry in faſhion. This definition he gives of God; He is not made with hands. The whole world, adorned with his creatures, is his manfion. Where is God? Shut up in temples? Impious men! who place their God in the dark. It is a reproach to a man, to tell him he is a ftone: yet the God you profefs is born of a rock. You ignorant people! you know not God: his works bear witnefs of him. Of himfelf he faith, O ye men, will ye not learn why I never laugh? it is not that I hate men, but their wickednefs. If you would not have me weep, live in peace: you carry fwords in your tongues: you plunder wealth, ravifh women, poifon friends, betray the truft people repofe in you: fhall I laugh, when I fee men do thefe things? their garments, beards and heads, adorned with unneceffary care; a mother deferted by a wicked fon; or young men confuming their patrimony; a citizen's wife taken from him; a virgin raviſhed; a concubine kept as a wife; others filling their bellies at feafts, more with poifon than with dainties? Virtue would ſtrike me blind, if I fhould laugh at your wars. By mufic, pipes, and ftripes, you are excited to things contrary to all harmony. Iron, a metal more proper for ploughs and tillages, is fitted for ſlaughter and death; men, raifing armies of men, covet to kill one another; and punifh men that quit the field for not ſlaying to murder men. They honour

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as valiants, such as are drunk with blood; but lions, horses, eagles, and other creatures, use not swords, bucklers, and instruments of war: their limbs are their weapons, some their horns, some their bills, some their wings; to one is given swiftness; to another, bigness; to a third, swimming. No irrational creature useth a sword, but keeps itself within the laws of its creation; except MAN, that doth not so: which brings the heavier blame, because he hath the greatest understanding. You must leave your wars and your wickedness, which you ratify by a law, if you would have me leave my severity. I have overcome pleasure, I have overcome riches, I have overcome ambition, I have mastered flattery; fear hath nothing to object against me, drunkenness hath nothing to charge upon me, anger is afraid of me: I have won the garland, in fighting against these enemies.—This, and much more did he write in his epistles to Hermodorus, of his complaints against the great degeneracy of the Ephesians. And in an epistle to Aphidamus, he writes, I am fallen sick, Aphidamus, of a dropsy. Whatsoever is of us, if it get the dominion, it becomes a disease. Excess of heat is a fever; excess of cold a palsy; excess of wind, a colic; my disease cometh from excess of moisture. The soul is something divine, which keeps all these in a due proportion. I know the nature of the world; I know that of man: I know diseases; I know health: I will cure myself, 'I will imitate 'GOD,' who makes equal the inequalities of the world. But if my body be overpressed, it must descend to the place ordained; however, my soul shall not descend; but being a thing immortal, shall ascend on high, where an heavenly mansion shall receive me.—A most weighty and pathetical discourse; they that know any thing of God, may favour something divine in it. Oh! that the degenerate Christians of these times would but take a view of the virtue, temperance, zeal, piety, and faith of this Heathen, who, notwithstanding that he lived five hundred years before the coming of Christ in the flesh, had these excellent sentences!

ſentences! Yet again; he taught that God puniſheth not by taking away riches; he rather alloweth them to the wicked to diſcover them; for poverty may be a veil. Speaking of God, How can that light which never ſets, be ever hidden or obſcured? Juſtice, ſaith he, ſhall ſeize one day upon defrauders and witneſſes of falſe things. Unleſs a man hopes to the end, for that which is to be hoped for, he ſhall not find that which is unſearchable; which Clemens, an ancient father, applied to Iſa. vi. 'Unleſs you believe, you ſhall not 'underſtand.' Heraclitus derided the ſacrifices of creatures: Do you think, ſaith he, to pacify God, and cleanſe yourſelves, by polluting yourſelves with blood? as if a man ſhould go into the dirt to cleanſe himſelf. Which ſhewed a ſight of a more ſpiritual worſhip, than that of the ſacrifices of beaſts. He lived ſolitary in the mountains; had a ſight of his end: and as he was prepared for it, ſo he rejoiced in it. Theſe certainly were the men, 'who having not a law without them, 'became a law unto themſelves, ſhewing forth the 'work of the law written in their hearts.'[b] And who, for that reaſon, ſhall judge the circumciſion, and receive the reward of 'Well done,' by him who is judge of quick and dead.

§. LXIII. Democritus would ſay, That he had lived to an extraordinary age, by keeping himſelf from luxury and exceſs. That a little eſtate went a great way with men that were neither covetous nor prodigal. That luxury furniſhed great tables with variety; and temperance furniſheth little ones. That riches do not conſiſt in the poſſeſſion, but right uſe of wealth. He was a man of great retirement, avoiding public honours and employments; bewailed by the people of Abdera as mad, whilſt indeed he only ſmiled at the madneſs of the world.

§. LXIV. Socrates, the moſt religious and learned philoſopher of his time (and of whom it is reported Apollo gave this character, That he was the wiſeſt man

on

[b] Rom. ii 14.

on earth) was a man of a ſevere life, and inſtructed people gratis in juſt, grave and virtuous manners: for which being envied by Ariſtophanes, the vain comical wit of that age, as one ſpoiling the trade of plays, and exerciſing the generality of the people with more noble and virtuous things; he was repreſented by him in a play, in which he rendered Socrates ſo ridiculous, that the vulgar would rather part with Socrates in earneſt, than Socrates in jeſt; which made way for their impeaching him, as an enemy to their gods; for which they put him to death. But in a ſhort ſpace, his eighty judges, and the whole people, ſo deeply repented the loſs, that they ſlew many of his accuſers: ſome hanged themſelves; none would trade with them, nor anſwer them a queſtion. They erected ſeveral ſtatues to his praiſe; they forbade his name to be mentioned, that they might forget their injuſtice: they called home his baniſhed friends and ſcholars. And, by the moſt wiſe and learned men of that age, it is obſerved, that famous city was puniſhed with the moſt dreadful plagues that ever raged amongſt them; and all Greece, with it, never proſpered in any conſiderable undertaking; but from that time always decayed.* Amongſt many of his ſober and religious maxims, upon which he was accuſtomed to diſcourſe with his diſciples, theſe are ſome:

He taught every where, That an upright man, and an happy man, are all one. They that do good, are employed: they that ſpend their time in recreations, are idle. To do good is the beſt courſe of life; he only is idle, who might be better employed. An horſe is not known by his furniture, but qualities; ſo men are to be eſteemed for virtue, not wealth. Being aſked, Who lived without trouble? he anſwered, Thoſe who are conſcious to themſelves of no evil thing. To one who demanded, What was nobility? he anſwered, A good temper and diſpoſition of ſoul and

* Plat. Apolog. Diog. Laert. Helvic. Cic. Tuſ. Queſt. 1. Xenoph. Brut. Cic. Orat. Liban. Apol. Varro. Hiſt. Schol. Ariſt.

and body. They who know what they ought to do, and do it not, are not wise and temperate, but fools and stupid. To one that complained, he had not been benefited by his travels; not without reason (says Socrates) thou didst travel with thy Self: intimating, he knew not the eternal Mind of God to direct and inform him. Being demanded, What wisdom was? said, A virtuous composure of the soul. And being asked, Who were wise? answered, Those that sin not. Seeing a young man rich, but ignorant of heavenly things, and pursuing earthly pleasures; Behold (says he) a golden slave. Soft ways of living beget neither a good constitution of body nor mind. Fine and rich clothes are only for comedians. Being demanded from what things men and women ought to refrain? he answered, Pleasure. Being asked, What continence and temperance were? he said, Government of corporal desires and pleasures. The wicked live to eat, &c. but the good eat to live. Temperate persons become the most excellent; eat that which neither hurts the body nor mind, and which is easy to be gotten. One saying, It was a great matter to abstain from what one desires; But (says he) it is better not to desire at all. [This is deep religion, even very hard to professed Christians.] "It is the property of God, to need nothing; and they that need, and are contented with, least, come nearest to God. The only and best way to worship God is, to mind and obey whatsoever he commands. That the souls of men and women partake of the Divine Nature. That God is seen of the virtuous mind. That by waiting upon him, they are united unto him, in an inaccessible place of purity and happiness. Which God, he asserted always to be near him."*

Many

*Clem. Alex. Strom. 2. 417. Xen. mem. 3. p. 720. Xen. mem. 3. p. 778, 779, 780. Stob. Ech. Strom. 1. 11. Stob. 4. 6. Stob. 2. 18. Xenoph. Mem. 3. Senec. Epist. 1. 103. Stob. 28. Stob. 32. Xen. Mem. 1. Ælian. 9. Stob. 37. Stob. 37. Stob. 87. Xen. Mem. 3. 4. Ælian. Var. Hist. 9. Stob. 37. Xenoph. Mem. 4. 802. Plat. Phæd.

Many more are the excellent ſayings of this great man, who was not leſs famous for his ſayings, than his example, with the greateſt nations; yet died he a ſacrifice to the ſottiſh fury of the vain world. The hiſtory of his life reports, that his father was told, He ſhould have the Guide of his life WITHIN him, which ſhould be more to him than five hundred maſters; which proved true: inſtructing his ſcholars herein, charging them not to neglect theſe divine affairs, which chiefly concern man, to mind or inquire after ſuch things as are without in the viſible world. He taught the uſe of outward things only as they were neceſſary to life and commerce; forbidding ſuperfluities and curioſities.* He was martyred for his doctrine, after having lived ſeventy years the moſt admired, followed, and viſited, of all men in his time, by kings and commonwealths; and than whom, antiquity mentions none with more reverence and honour. Well were it for poor England, if her conceited Chriſtians were true Socrateſes; whoſe ſtrict, juſt, and ſelf-denying life doth not beſpeak him more famous, than it will Chriſtians infamous at the revelation of the righteous judgment; where Heathens virtue ſhall aggravate Chriſtians intemperance; and their humility, the others exceſſive pride: and juſtly too, ſince a Greater than Socrates is come, whoſe name they profeſs, but they will not obey his law.†

§. LXV. PLATO, that famous philoſopher and ſcholar to Socrates, was ſo grave, and devoted to divine things, nay, ſo diſcreetly politic, that in his commonwealth he would not ſo much as harbour poetical fancies (much leſs open ſtages) as being too effeminate, and apt to withdraw the minds of youth from more noble, more manly, as well as more heavenly exerciſes.‡ Plato, ſeeing a young man play at dice, reproved him ſharply; the other anſwered, What! for ſo ſmall a matter? Cuſtom (ſaith Plato) is no ſmall thing:

* Xen. Mem. 1. p. 710. † Xen. Mem. 4. Plato de Legib.
‡ Plato de Rep.

thing: let idle hours be ſpent more uſefully. Let youth (ſaid he) take delight in good things; for pleaſures are the baits of evil. Obſerve; the momentary ſweetneſs of a delicious life is followed with eternal ſorrow; the ſhort pain of the contrary with eternal pleaſure.‖ Being commanded to put on a purple garment by the king of Sicily, he refuſed, ſaying, He was a man, and ſcorned ſuch effeminacies. Inviting Timothy, the Athenian general, to ſupper, he treated him with herbs, water, and ſuch ſpare diet as he was accuſtomed to eat. Timothy's friends next day, laughing, aſked, how he was entertained? he anſwered, Never better in his life; for he ſlept all night after his ſupper: thereby commending his temperance. He addicted himſelf to religious contemplations; and is ſaid to have lived a virtuous and ſingle life, always eyeing and obeying the MIND, which he ſometimes called GOD, the Father of all things, affirming, Who lived ſo, ſhould become like him, and ſo be related to, and joined with, the Divinity itſelf.* This ſame Plato, upon his dying-bed, ſent for his friends about him, and told them, the whole world was out of the way, in that they underſtood not, nor regarded, the Mind (that is, God, or the word, or Begotten of God) aſſuring them, Thoſe men died moſt comfortably, that lived moſt conformable to Right Reaſon, and ſought and adored the Firſt Cauſe, meaning God.

§. LXVI. ANTISTHENES, an Athenian Philoſopher, had taught in the ſtudy of eloquence ſeveral years; but upon hearing Socrates treat of the ſeriouſneſs of religion, of the divine life, eternal rewards, &c. 'bad 'all his ſcholars ſeek them a new maſter; for he had 'found one for himſelf.' Wherefore ſelling his eſtate, he diſtributed it to the poor, and betook himſelf wholly to the conſideration of heavenly things; going cheerfully ſix miles every day to hear Socrates.†—But where are the like preachers and converts amongſt the people

‖ Diog. Laert. in vit. Xen. Crat. Stob. Ælian. * Alcinous.
† Laert. vit. Socr. Ælian.

called Chriſtians? Obſerve the daily pains of Socrates; ſurely he did not ſtudy a week to read a written ſermon: we are aſſured of the contrary; for it was frequent with him to preach to the people, at any time of the day, in the very ſtreets, as occaſion ſerved, and his Good Genius moved him. Neither was he an hireling, or covetous; for he did it gratis: ſurely then he had not fat benefices, tithes, glebes, &c. And let the ſelf-denial and diligence of Antiſthenes be conſidered, who, of a philoſopher and maſter became a ſcholar, and that a daily one: ſurely, it was then matter of reproach, as it is now: ſhewing thereby both want of knowledge (though called a philoſopher) and his great deſire to obtain it of one that could teach him. None of theſe uſed to go to plays, balls, treats, &c. They found more ſerious employments for their minds, and were examples of temperance to the world. I will repeat ſome of his grave ſentences, as reported by Laertius and others, namely, That thoſe only are noble who are virtuous. That virtue was ſelf-ſufficient to happineſs. That it conſiſteth in actions, not requiring many words, nor much learning, and is ſelf-ſufficient to wiſdom: for that all other things have reference thereunto. That men ſhould not govern by force, nor by laws, unleſs good, but by juſtice. To a friend complaining he had loſt his notes, Thou ſhouldeſt have writ them upon thy mind (ſaith he) and not in a book. Thoſe who would never die, muſt live juſtly and piouſly. Being aſked, What learning was beſt? That, ſaith he, which unlearneth evil. To one that praiſed a life full of pleaſures and delicacies: Let the ſons of my enemies, ſaith he, live delicately: counting it the greateſt miſery. We ought, ſays he, to aim at ſuch pleaſures as follow honeſt labour; and not thoſe which go before it.* When at any time he ſaw a woman richly dreſſed, he would, in a way of reproach, bid her huſband bring out his horſe and arms; meaning, if he were prepared

* Stob. ibid. 117. Diog. Laert.

prepared to juſtify the injuries ſuch wantonneſs uſeth to produce, he might the better allow thoſe dangerous freedoms: otherwiſe, ſaith he, pluck off her rich and gaudy attire. He is ſaid to exclaim bitterly againſt pleaſures; often ſaying, I had rather be mad, than addicted to pleaſure, and ſpend my days in decking and feeding my carcaſe. Thoſe, ſays he, who have once learned the way to temperance and virtue, let them not offer to entangle themſelves again with fruitleſs ſtories, and vain learning; nor be addicted to corporal delicacies, which will dull the mind, and will divert and hinder them from the purſuit of thoſe more noble and heavenly virtues.* Upon the death of his beloved maſter, Socrates, he inſtituted a ſect called Cynics; out of whom came the great ſect of the Stoics: both which had theſe common principles, which they daily, with great and unwearied diligence, did maintain, and inſtruct people in the knowledge of, viz. No man is wiſe or happy, but the good and virtuous man. That not much learning, nor ſtudy of many things, was neceſſary. That a wiſe man is never drunk nor mad: that he never ſinneth. That a wiſe man is void of paſſion; that he is ſincere, religious, grave: that he only is divine. That ſuch only are prieſts and prophets, who have God in themſelves. And that his law is imprinted in their minds, and the minds of all men. That ſuch an one ONLY can pray; is innocent, meek, temperate, ingenuous, noble; a good magiſtrate, father, ſon, maſter, ſervant, and worthy of praiſe. On the contrary, that wicked men can be none of theſe. "That the ſame belongs to men and "women."†

Their diet was ſlender, their food only what would ſatisfy nature. Their garments exceeding mean. Their habitations ſolitary and homely. They affirmed, thoſe who lived with feweſt things, and were contented, moſt nearly approached God, who wants nothing. They

* Agel. lib. 9 c. 5 † Laert. vir. mem. Laert. Plut. de rep. Stoi. Stob. Cic. de Nat. Deo. lib. ii Lact. de ira Dei. cap. 10.

They voluntarily defpiſed riches, glory, and nobility, as fooliſh ſhews, and vain fictions, that had no true and ſolid worth or happineſs in them. They made all things to be good and evil, and flatly denied the idle ſtories of fortune and chance.*

Certainly theſe were they, who having no external law, 'became a law unto themſelves:' and did not abuſe the knowledge they had of the inviſible God; but to their capacities inſtructed men in the knowledge of that righteous, ſerious, ſolid, and heavenly Principle, which leads to true and everlaſting happineſs all thoſe that embrace it.

§. LXVII. Xenocrates refuſed Alexander's preſent, yet treated his ambaſſadors after his temperate and ſpare manner; ſaying, You ſee I have no need of your maſter's bounty, that am ſo well pleaſed with this. He would ſay, That one ought not to carry one's eyes or one's hands into another man's houſe: that is, be a buſy-body. That one ought to be moſt circumſpect of one's actions before children, leſt by example, one's faults ſhould out-live one's ſelf. He ſaid, Pride was the greateſt obſtruction to true knowledge. His chaſtity and integrity were remarkable, and reverenced in Athens: Phryne, the famous Athenian courtezan, could not place a temptation upon him; nor Philip, king of Macedon, a bribe; though the reſt ſent in the embaſſy were corrupted. And being once brought for a witneſs, the judges roſe up, and cried out, Tender no oath to Xenocrates, for he will ſpeak the truth! A reſpect they did not allow to one another. Holding his peace at ſome detracting diſcourſe, they aſked him, why he ſpoke not? Becauſe, ſaith he, I have ſometimes repented of ſpeaking but never of holding my peace.†

§. LXVIII. Bion would ſay, That great men walk in ſlippery places. That it is a great miſchief not to bear affliction. That ungodlineſs is an enemy to aſſurance. He

*Plut. Pl. Ph. 16 Cic. Tuſc. Queſt. 4 Diog. Laert. vit. Mem. Stob. † Laert. Val. Max. 4 3 2 16 Cic. pro Fal. Val. Max. 7 2.

He ſaid to a covetous man, That he did not poſſeſs his wealth, but his wealth poſſeſſed him: abſtaining from uſing it, as if it were another man's. In fine, That men ought to purſue a courſe of virtue, without regard to the praiſe or reproach of men.

§. LXIX. DEMONAX, ſeeing the great care that men had of their bodies, more than of their minds; They deck the houſe, ſaith he, but ſlight the maſter. He would ſay, That many are inquiſitive after the make of the world, but are little concerned about their own, which were a ſcience much more worthy of their pains. To a city that would eſtabliſh the gladiators, or prize-fighters, he ſaid, that they ought firſt to overthrow the Altar of Mercy: intimating the cruelty of ſuch practices. One aſking him, why he turned philoſopher? Becauſe, ſaith he, I am MAN. He would ſay of the prieſts of Greece, If they could better inſtruct the people, they could not give them too much; but if not, the people could not give them too little. He lamented the unprofitableneſs of good laws, by being in bad men's hands.

§. LXX. DIOGENES was angry with critics, that were nice of words, and not of their own actions; with muſicians, that tune their inſtruments, but could not govern their paſſions; with aſtrologers, that have their eyes in the ſky, and look not to their own goings; with orators that ſtudy to ſpeak well, but not to do well; with covetous men, that take care to get, but never uſe their eſtates; with thoſe philoſophers, that deſpiſe greatneſs, and yet court great men; and with thoſe that ſacrifice for health, and yet ſurfeit themſelves with eating their ſacrifices. One time, diſcourſing of the nature, pleaſure and reward of virtue, and the people not regarding what he ſaid, he fell a ſinging; at which every one preſſed to hear: whereupon he cried out, in abhorrence of their ſtupidity, 'O God, 'how much more is the world in love with folly, than 'with wiſdom!' Seeing a man ſprinkling himſelf with water, after having done ſome ill thing; Unhappy man! ſaith he, doſt thou not know that the errors of life

life are not to be washed away with water? To one who said, Life is an ill thing; he answered, Life is not an ill thing; but an ill life is an ill thing. He was very temperate, for his bed and his table he found every where. One seeing him wash herbs, said, If thou hadst followed Dionysius, king of Sicily, thou wouldest not have needed to have washed herbs: he answered, If thou hadst washed herbs, thou needest not to have followed Dionysius. He lighted a candle at noon, saying, I look for a MAN; implying, that the world was darkened by vice, and men effeminated. To a luxurious person, that had wasted his means, supping upon olives; If says he, thou hadst used to dine so, thou wouldst not have needed to sup so. To a young man dressing himself neatly; If this, saith he, be for the sake of men, thou art unhappy; if for women, thou art unjust. Another time, seeing an effeminate young man; Art thou not ashamed, saith he, to use thyself worse than nature hath made thee? she hath made thee a man, but thou wilt force thyself to be a woman. To one that courted a bad woman; O wretch! said he, what meanest thou, to ask for that which is better lost than found? To one that smelled of sweet unguents, Have a care, saith he, this perfume make not thy life stink. He compared covetous men to such as have the dropsy: Those are full of money, yet desire more; these of water, yet thirst for more. Being asked, what beasts were the worst? In the field, saith he, bears and lions; in the city, usurers and flatterers. At a feast, one giving him a great cup of wine, he threw it away; for which being blamed, If I had drunk it, saith he, not only the wine would have been lost, but I also. One asking him, how he might order himself best? he said, By reproving those things in thyself, which thou blamest in others. Another demanding what was hardest? he answered, To know ourselves, to whom we are partial. An astrologer discoursing to the people of the wandering stars; No, saith he, it is not the stars, but these (pointing to the people that heard him). Being asked, what men were most

moſt noble? They, ſaith he, who contemn wealth, honour and pleaſure, and endure the contraries, to wit, poverty, ſcorn, pain, and death. To a wicked man, reproaching him for his poverty; I never knew, ſaith he, any man puniſhed for his poverty, but many for their wickedneſs. To one bewailing himſelf that he ſhould not die in his own country; Be of comfort, ſaith he, for the way to heaven is alike in every place. One day he went backwards: whereat the people laughing, Are you not aſhamed, ſaith he, to do that all your life-time, which you deride in me?

§. LXXI. CRATES, a Theban, famous for his ſelf-denial and virtue; deſcended from the houſe of Alexander, of great eſtate, at leaſt two hundred talents; which, having moſtly diſtributed among the poor citizens, he became a conſtant profeſſor of the Cynic philoſophy. He exceedingly inveighed againſt common women. Seeing at Delphos a golden image, that Phryne, the courtezan had ſet up, by the gains of her trade, cried out, This is a trophy of the Greeks intemperance. Seeing a young man highly fed, and fat; Unhappy youth, ſaith he, do not fortify thy priſon. To another, followed by a great many paraſites; Young man, ſaith he, I am ſorry to ſee thee ſo much alone. Walking one day upon the exchange, where he beheld people mighty buſy after their divers callings; Theſe people, ſaith he, think themſelves happy; but I am happy that have nothing to do with them: for I place my happineſs in poverty, not in riches.* Oh! men do not know how much a wallet, a meaſure of lupins, with ſecurity, is worth. Of his wife Hipparchia, a woman of wealth and extraction, but nobler for her love to true philoſophy, and how they came together, there will be occaſion to make mention in its place.

§. LXXII. ARISTOTLE, a ſcholar to Plato, and the oracle of philoſophy to theſe very times, though not ſo divinely contemplative as his maſter, nevertheleſs follows

* Laert.

lows him in this; That luxury ſhould by good diſcipline be exiled human ſocieties.† Ariſtotle ſeeing a youth finely dreſt, ſaid, Art thou not aſhamed, when nature hath made thee a man, to make thyſelf a woman? And to another, gazing on his fine cloak; Why doſt thou boaſt of a ſheep's fleece? He ſaid, It was the duty of a good man to live ſo under laws, as he ſhould do if there were none.‡

§. LXXIII. MANDANIS, a great and famous philoſopher of the Gymnoſophiſts, whom Alexander the Great required to come to the feaſt of Jupiter's ſon (meaning himſelf) declaring, That if he came, he ſhould be rewarded; if not, he ſhould be put to death. The philoſopher contemned his meſſage as vain and ſordid: he firſt told them, That he denied him to be Jupiter's ſon (a mere fiction). Next, That as for his gifts, he eſteemed them nothing worth; his own country could furniſh him with neceſſaries: beyond which he coveted nothing. And laſtly, As for the death he threatened, he did not fear it: but of the two, he wiſhed it rather; in that, ſaith he, it is a change to a more bleſſed and happy ſtate.‖

§. LXXIV. ZENO, the great Stoic, and author of that philoſophy, had many things admirable in him; who not only ſaid, but practiſed. He was a man of that integrity, and ſo reverenced for it by the Athenians, that they depoſited the keys of the city in his hands, as the only perſon fit to be intruſted with their liberties; yet by birth a ſtranger, being of Pſittacon in Cyprus.* Antigonus, king of Macedonia, had a great reſpect for him, and deſired his company, as the following letter expreſſeth:

'King Antigonus to Zeno the philoſopher, health: 'I think that I exceed thee in fortune and glory; 'but in learning and diſcipline, and that perfect feli- 'city which thou haſt attained, I am exceeded by 'thee; wherefore I thought it expedient to write to 'thee,

† Stob. Strom. 45. ‡ Stob. 161. ibid. 46. ‖ Stob. 161. ibid. 46. * Stob. 161. Laert.

'thee, that thou wilt come to me, aſſuring myſelf thou 'wilt not deny it. Uſe all means therefore to come to 'us; and know thou art not to inſtruct me only, but 'all the Macedonians; for he who teacheth the king 'of Macedonia, and guideth him to virtue, it is evident, 'that he doth likewiſe inſtruct all his ſubjects in virtue: 'for ſuch as is the prince, ſuch for the moſt part are 'thoſe who live under his government.'

Zeno anſwered thus: 'To king Antigonus, Zeno 'wiſheth health: I much eſteem thy earneſt deſire of 'learning, in that thou aimeſt at philoſophy; not po-'pular, which perverteth manners; but that true diſ-'cipline which conferreth profit; avoiding that gene-'rally commended pleaſure, which effeminates the 'ſouls of men. It is manifeſt that thou art inclined 'to generous things, not only by nature, but by 'choice: with indifferent exerciſe and aſſiſtance thou 'mayeſt eaſily attain to virtue. But I am very infirm 'of body, being fourſcore years of age, and ſo not 'well able to come: yet I will ſend thee ſome of my 'chief diſciples, who, in thoſe things concerning the 'ſoul, are nothing inferior to me; and whoſe inſtruc-'tions, if thou wilt follow them, will conduct thee to 'perfect bleſſedneſs.'——Thus Zeno refuſed Antigo-nus, but ſent Perſaus his countryman, and Philonidas, a Theban. He would ſay, That nothing was more un-ſeemly than pride, eſpecially in youth, which was a time of learning. He therefore recommended to young men modeſty in three things; in their walking, in their behaviour, and in their apparel: often repeating thoſe verſes of Euripides, in honour of Capaneus:

He was not puft up with his ſtore:
Nor thought himſelf above the poor.

Seeing a man very finely dreſſed, ſtepping lightly over a kennel; That man, ſaith he, doth not care for the dirt, becauſe he could not ſee his face in it. He alſo taught, The people ſhould not affect delicacy of diet, no not in their ſickneſs. To one that ſmelt with un-guents; Who is it, ſaith he, that ſmells ſo effemi-

nately? Seeing a friend of his taken too much up with the buſineſs of his land; Unleſs thou loſe thy land, ſaith he, thy land will loſe thee. Being demanded, Whether a man that doth wrong, may conceal it from God? No, ſaith he, nor yet he who thinks it. Which teſtifies to the omnipreſence of God. Being aſked, Who was his beſt friend? he anſwered, My other ſelf; intimating the Divine part that was in him. He would ſay, The end of man was not to live, eat, and drink; but to uſe this life ſo, as to obtain an happy life hereafter. He was ſo humble, that he converſed with mean and ragged perſons; whence Timon thus;

> And for companions gets of ſervants ſtore.
> Of all men the moſt empty, and moſt poor.

He was patient and frugal in his houſehold expenſes. Laertius ſaith, he had but one ſervant: Seneca avers, he had none. He was mean in his clothes: in his diet by Philemon thus deſcribed:

> He water drinks, then broth and herbs doth eat;
> Teaching his ſcholars almoſt without meat.

His chaſtity was ſo eminent, that it became a proverb; As chaſte as Zeno. When the news of his death came to Antigonus, he broke forth into theſe words, What an object have I loſt? And being aſked, Why he admired him ſo much? Becauſe, ſaith he, though I beſtowed many great things upon him, he was never therewith exalted nor dejected. The Athenians, after his death, by a public decree, erected a ſtatue to his memory; it runs thus: Whereas Zeno, the ſon of 'Mnaſeas, a Scythian, has profeſſed philoſophy about 'fifty-eight years in this city, and in all things per-'formed the office of a good man, encouraging thoſe 'young men, who applied themſelves to him, to 'the love of virtue and temperance, leading himſelf 'a life ſuitable to the doctrine which he profeſſed; a 'pattern to the beſt to imitate; the people have 'thought fit to do honour to Zeno, and to crown him 'with a crown of gold, according to law, in reward of

'of his virtue and temperance, and to build a tomb 'for him, publicly in the Ceramick,' &c. Theſe two were his epitaphs, one by Antipater:

Here Zeno lies, who tall Olympus ſcal'd;
Not heaping Pelion on Oſſa's head:
Nor by Herculean labours ſo prevail'd;
But found out virtue's paths, which thither led.

The other by Xenodotus, the Stoic, thus:

Zeno, thy years to hoary age were ſpent,
Not with vain riches, but with ſelf-content.

§. LXXV. SENECA, a great and excellent philoſopher (who, with Epictetus, ſhall conclude the teſtimonies of the men of their character) hath ſo much to our purpoſe, that his works are but a kind of continued evidence for us: he ſaith, Nature was not ſo much an enemy, as to give an eaſy paſſage of life to all other creatures, and that man alone ſhould not live without ſo many arts: ſhe hath commanded us none of theſe things. We have made all things difficult to us, by diſdaining things that are eaſy: houſes, clothes, meats, and nouriſhment of bodies, and thoſe things which are now the care of life, were eaſy to come by, freely gotten, and prepared with a light labour: for the meaſure of theſe things was neceſſity, not voluptouſneſs: but we have made them pernicious and admirable: they muſt be ſought with art and ſkill. Nature ſufficeth to that which ſhe requireth.

Appetite hath revolted from nature, which continually inciteth itſelf, and increaſes with the ages, helping vice by wit. Firſt, it began to deſire ſuperfluous, then contrary things: laſt of all, it ſold the mind to the body, and commanded it to ſerve the luſts thereof. All theſe arts, wherewith the city is continually ſet at work, and maketh ſuch a ſtir, do center in the affairs of the body, to which all things were once performed as to a Servant, but now are provided as for a Lord. Hence the ſhops of engravers, perfumers, &c. hence of thoſe that teach effeminate motions of the body; and

and vain and wanton ſongs: for natural behaviour is deſpiſed, which completed deſires with neceſſary help: now it is clowniſhneſs and ill-breeding, to be contented with as much as is requiſite. What ſhall I ſpeak of rich marbles curiouſly wrought, wherewith temples and houſes do ſhine? what of ſtately galleries, and rich furniture? Theſe are but the devices of moſt vile ſlaves, the inventions of men, not of wiſe men: for wiſdom ſits deeper; it is the miſtreſs of the mind. Wilt thou know what things ſhe hath found out, what ſhe hath made? Not unſeemly motions of the body, nor variable ſinging by trumpet or flute; nor yet weapons, wars, or fortifications: ſhe endeavoureth profitable things; ſhe favours peace, and calls all mankind to an agreement: ſhe leadeth to a bleſſed eſtate: ſhe openeth the way to it, and ſhews what is evil from what is good, and chaſeth vanity out of the mind: ſhe giveth ſolid greatneſs, but debaſeth that which is puffed up, and would be ſeen of men: ſhe bringeth forth the 'Image of God to be ſeen in the 'ſouls of men:' and ſo from corporeal, ſhe tranſlateth into incorporeal things. Thus in the 90th epiſtle to Lucilius.—To Gallio he writeth thus: "All men, brother Gallio, are deſirous to live happy; yet blind to the means of that bleſſedneſs, as long as we wander hither and thither, and follow not our Guide, but the diſſonant clamour of thoſe that call on us to undertake different ways. Our ſhort life is wearied and worn away amongſt errors, although we labour to get us a good mind. There is nothing therefore to be more avoided, than following the multitude without examination, and believing any thing without judging. Let us inquire what is beſt to be done, not what is moſt uſually done; and what planted us in the poſſeſſion of eternal felicity; not what is ordinarily allowed of by the multitude, which is the worſt interpreter of truth. I call the Multitude as well thoſe that are clothed in White, as thoſe in other colours: for I examine not the colours of the garments, wherewith their bodies are clothed: I truſt not mine eyes to inform me what a man

man is; 'I have a better and truer Light, whereby I 'can diſtinguiſh truth from falſehood.' Let the ſoul find out the Good of the ſoul. If once ſhe may have leiſure to withdraw into herſelf, oh! how will ſhe confeſs, I wiſh all I have done were undone; and all I have ſaid, when I recollect it, I am aſhamed of it, when I now hear the like in others. Theſe things below, whereat we gaze, and whereat we ſtay, and which one man with admiration ſhews unto another, do outwardly ſhine, but are inwardly empty. Let us ſeek out ſomewhat that is good, not in appearance, but ſolid, united and beſt, in that which leaſt appears: let us diſcover this. Neither is it far from us; we ſhall find it, if we ſeek it. For it is wiſdom, not to wander from that Immortal Nature, but to form ourſelves according to his law and example. Bleſſed is the man who judgeth rightly: bleſſed is he who is contented with his preſent condition: and bleſſed is he who giveth ear to that immortal Principle, in the government of his life.'—An whole volume of theſe excellent things hath he written. No wonder a man of his doctrine and life, eſcaped not the cruelty of brutiſh Nero, under whom he ſuffered death; as alſo did the apoſtle Paul, with whom, it is ſaid, Seneca had converſed. When Nero's meſſenger brought him the news that he was to die; with a compoſed and undaunted countenance he received the errand, and preſently called for pen, ink, and paper, to write his laſt will and teſtament; which the captain refuſing, he turned towards his friends, and took his leave thus: 'Since, my loving friends, I cannot bequeath you any other thing in acknowledgement of what I owe you, I leave you at leaſt the richeſt and beſt portion I have, that is, The Image of my Manners and Life; which doing, you will obtain true happineſs.' His friends ſhewing great trouble for the loſs of him, Where, ſaith he, are thoſe memorable precepts of philoſophy; and what is become of thoſe proviſions, which for ſo many years together we have laid up againſt the brunts and afflictions of providence? Was Nero's cruelty unknown to us?

What

What could we expect better at his hands, that killed his brother, and murdered his mother, but that he would alſo put his tutor and governor to death? Then turning to his wife, Pompeja Paulina, a Roman lady, young and noble, beſeeched her, for the love ſhe bore him and his philoſophy, to ſuffer patiently his affliction; For (ſaith he) my hour is come, wherein I muſt ſhew, not only by diſcourſe, but by death, the fruit I have reaped by my meditations. I embrace it without grief; wherefore do not diſhonour it with thy tears. Aſſuage thy ſorrow, and comfort thyſelf in the knowledge thou haſt had of me, and of my actions; and lead the reſt of thy life with that honeſt induſtry thou haſt addicted thyſelf unto. And dedicating his life to God, he expired.

§. LXXVI. EPICTETUS, contemporary with Seneca, and an excellent man, thought no man worthy of the profeſſion of Philoſophy, that was not purified from the errors of his nature. His morals were very excellent, which he compriſed under theſe two words, Suſtaining and Abſtaining; or Bearing and Forbearing: To avoid evil and patiently to ſuffer afflictions: which do certainly compriſe the Chriſtian doctrine and life, and are the perfection of the beſt philoſophy that was at any time taught by Egyptians, Greeks, or Romans, when it ſignified virtue, ſelf-denial, and a life of religious ſolitude and contemplation.

How little the Chriſtians of the times are true philoſophers, and how much more theſe philoſophers were Chriſtians than they, let the Righteous Principle in every conſcience judge. But is it not then intolerable that they ſhould be eſteemed Chriſtians, who are yet to learn to be good Heathens, that prate of Grace and Nature, and know neither; who will preſume to determine what is become of Heathens, and know not where they are themſelves, nor mind what may become of them; that can run readily over a tedious liſt of famous perſonages, and calumniate ſuch as will not, with them, celebrate their memories with extravagant and ſuperfluous praiſes, whilſt they make it laudable to act

act the contrary; and none so ready a way to become vile, as not to be vicious? A strange paradox, but too true: so blind, so stupified, so besotted are the foolish sensualists of the world, under their great pretences to religion, faith and worship. Ah! did they but know the peace, the joy, the unspeakable raviſhments of soul, that inseparably attend the innocent, harmless, still and retired life of Jesus; did they but weigh within themselves the authors of their vain delights and pastimes, the nature and disposition they are so grateful to, the dangerous consequence of exercising the mind and its affections below, and arresting and taking them up from their due attendance and obedience to the most holy crying voice in their consciences, 'Repent, Return: 'All is vanity and vexation of spirit.' Were but these things reflected upon; were the incessant wooings of Jesus, and his importunate knocks and entreaties, by his Light and Grace, at the door of their hearts, but kindly answered, and He admitted to take up his abode there; and lastly, were such resolved to give up to the instructions and holy guidance of his Eternal Spirit, in all the humble, heavenly, and righteous conversation it requires, and of which he is become our captain and example; then, oh! then, both root and branch of vanity, the nature that invented, and that which delights herself therein, with all the follies themselves, would be consumed and vaniſh. But they, alas! cheat themselves by misconstrued scriptures, and daub with the untempered mortar of misapplied promises. They will be saints, whilst they are sinners; and in Christ, whilst in the spirit of the world, walking after the flesh, and not after the Spirit, by which the true children of God are led. My friends, mind the Just Witness and Holy Principle in yourselves, that you may experimentally know more of the divine life; in which (and not in a multitude of vain repetitions) true and solid felicity eternally consists.

IV. Nor is this reputation, wisdom, and virtue, only to be attributed to Men: there were Women also, in the

the Greek and Roman ages, that honoured their ſex by great examples of meekneſs, prudence, and chaſtity: and which I do the rather mention, that the honour ſtory yields to their virtuous conduct may raiſe an allowable emulation in thoſe of their own ſex, at leaſt, to equal the noble character given them by antiquity. I will begin with

§. LXXVII. PENELOPE, wife to Ulyſſes, a woman eminent for her beauty and quality, but more for her ſingular chaſtity. Her huſband was abſent from her twenty years; partly in ſervice of his country, and partly in exile; and being believed to be dead, ſhe was earneſtly ſought by divers lovers, and preſſed by her parents to change her condition; but all the importunities of the one, or perſuaſions of the other, not prevailing, her lovers ſeemed to uſe a kind of violence, that where they could not entice, they would compel; to which ſhe yielded, upon this condition; That they would not preſs her to marry, till ſhe had ended the work ſhe had in hand: which they granting, ſhe undid by night what ſhe wrought by day; and with that honeſt device ſhe delayed their deſire, till her worthy huſband returned, whom ſhe received, though in beggar's clothes, with an heart full of love and truth. A conſtancy that reproaches too many of the women of the times, who, without the excuſe of ſuch an abſence, can violate their huſband's beds. Her work ſhews the induſtry and employment, even of the women of great quality in thoſe times; whilſt thoſe of the preſent age deſpiſe ſuch honeſt labour, as mean and mechanical.

§. LXXVIII. THEOXENA, a woman of great virtue, being in a place encompaſſed by the armies of the king of Macedonia, finding ſhe could not eſcape their hands, rather than fall under the power of his ſoldiers to be defiled, choſe to die: and therefore flying into the ſea, delivered her life up in the waters; thereby chooſing death, rather than ſave her life with the hazard of her virtue.

§. LXXIX. PANDORA and PROTOGENIA, two virtuous daughters of an Athenian king, ſeeing their country

like

like to be over-run by its enemies, freely offered their lives in ſacrifice, to appeaſe the fury of their enemies, for the preſervation of their country.

§. LXXX. HIPPARCHIA, a fair Macedonian virgin, noble of blood (as they term it) but more truly noble of mind, I cannot omit to mention; who entertained ſo earneſt an affection for Crates, the Cynical philoſopher, as well for his ſevere life as excellent diſcourſe, that by no means could her relations nor ſuitors, by all their wealth, nobility and beauty diſſuade her from being his companion: upon which ſtrange reſolution, they all betook themſelves to Crates, beſeeching him to ſhew himſelf a true philoſopher, in perſuading her to deſiſt: which he ſtrongly endeavoured by many arguments: but not prevailing went his way, and brought all the little furniture of his houſe, and ſhewed her: This (ſaith he) is thy huſband; that the furniture of thy houſe: conſider on it, for thou canſt not be mine, unleſs thou followeſt the ſame courſe of life: (for, being rich above twenty talents, which is more than fifty thouſand pounds, he neglected all, to follow a retired life:) all which had ſo contrary an effect, that ſhe immediately went to him, before them all, and ſaid, I ſeek not the pomp and effeminacy of this world, but knowledge and virtue, Crates; and chooſe a life of temperance, before a life of delicacies: for true ſatisfaction, thou knoweſt, is in the mind; and that pleaſure is only worth ſeeking that laſts for ever. Thus was it, ſhe became the conſtant companion both of his love and life, his friendſhip and his virtues; travelling with him from place to place, and performing the public exerciſes of inſtruction with Crates, wherever they came. She was a moſt violent enemy to all impiety, but eſpecially to wanton men and women, and thoſe whoſe garb and converſation ſhewed them devoted to vain pleaſures and paſtimes: effeminacy rendering the like perſons not only unprofitable, but pernicious to the whole world. Which ſhe as well made good by the example of her exceeding induſtry, temperance, and ſeverity, as thoſe are wont to do by their intemperance and folly:

for ruin of health, eſtates, virtue, and loſs of eternal happineſs, have ever attended, and ever will attend, ſuch earthly minds.

§. LXXXI. LUCRETIA, a moſt chaſte Roman dame, whoſe name and virtue is known by that tragedy that follows them. For Sextus, the ſon of Tarquin the Proud king of Rome, hearing it was her cuſtom to work late in her chamber, did there attempt her, with his ſword in his hand, vowing he would run her through: and put one of his ſervants in the poſture of lying with her, on purpoſe to defame her, if ſhe would not yield to his luſts. Having forced his wicked end, ſhe ſends for her father, then governor of Rome, her huſband and her friends, to whom having revealed the matter, and with tears lamented her irreparable calamity, ſhe ſlew herſelf in their preſence; that it might not be ſaid Lucretia out-lived her chaſtity, even when ſhe could not defend it. I praiſe the virtue, not the act. But God ſoon avenged this, with other impieties upon that wicked family; for the people hearing what Sextus had done, whoſe flagitious life they equally hated with his father's tyranny, and their ſenſe of both, aggravated by the reverence they conceived for the chaſte and exemplary life of Lucretia, betook themſelves to their arms; and headed by her father, her huſband, Brutus and Valerius, they drove out that Tarquin family: in which action the hand of Brutus avenged the blood of Lucretia upon infamous Sextus, whom he ſlew in the battle.

§. LXXXII. CORNELIA, alſo a noble Roman matron, and ſiſter to Scipio, was eſteemed the moſt famous and honourable perſonage of her time, not more for the greatneſs of her birth, than her exceeding temperance. And hiſtory particularly mentions this, as one great inſtance of her virtue, for which ſhe was ſo much admired, to wit, That ſhe never was accuſtomed to wear rich apparel, but ſuch apparel as was very plain and grave; rather making her children (whom her inſtructions and example had made virtuous) her greateſt ornaments:

naments: a good pattern for the vain and wanton dames of the age.

§. LXXXIII. PONTIA was another Roman dame, renowned for her ſingular modeſty: for though Octavius attempted her with all imaginable allurements and perſuaſions, ſhe choſe rather to die by his cruelty, than be polluted by his luſt. So he took her life, that could not violate her chaſtity.

§. LXXXIV. ARRIA, wife to Cecinna Pætus, is not leſs famous in ſtory for the magnanimity ſhe ſhewed, in being the companion of her huſband's diſgraces, who thruſt herſelf into priſon with him, that ſhe might be his ſervant; and ſhewed him firſt by death to be revenged of the tyrant.

§. LXXXV. POMPEIA PLAUTINA, wife to Julianus the emperor, commended for her compaſſion of the poor, uſed the power her virtue had given her with her huſband, to put him upon all the juſt and tender things that became his charge, and to diſſuade him from whatſoever ſeemed harſh to the people: particularly, ſhe diverted him from a great tax his flatterers adviſed him to lay upon the people.

§. LXXXVI. PLOTINA, the wife of Trajan, a woman (ſaith a certain author) adorned with piety, chaſtity, and all the virtues that a woman is capable of. There are two inſtances; one of her piety, the other of her chaſtity. The firſt is this: When her huſband was proclaimed emperor, ſhe mounted the Capitol after the choice; where, in a religious manner, ſhe ſaid, 'Oh, 'that I may live under all this honour, with the ſame 'virtue and content that I enjoyed before I had it!' The ſecond is this: Her huſband being once exiled, ſhe cauſed her hair to be cut ſhort, as the men wore it, that with leſs notice and danger ſhe might be the companion of his baniſhment.

§. LXXXVII. POMPEIA PAULINA, a Roman lady of youth and beauty, deſcended of the moſt noble families of Rome, fell in love with Seneca, for the excellency of his doctrine, and the gravity and purity of his manners. They married, and lived great examples together

gether to both their ſexes. So great was her value for her huſband, and ſo little did ſhe care to live when he was to die, that ſhe choſe to be the companion of his death as ſhe had been of his life: and her veins were cut as well as his, whilſt ſhe was the auditor of his excellent diſcourſes; but Nero hearing of it, and fearing leſt Paulina's death might bring him great reproach, becauſe of her noble alliance in Rome, ſent with all haſte to have her wounds cloſed, and if it were poſſible to ſave her life: which, though as one half dead, was done, and ſhe againſt her will lived; but always with a pale hue, and wan complexion of face, to tell how much of her life was gone with Seneca her deareſt friend, philoſopher, and huſband.

§. LXXXVIII. Thus may the voluptuous women of the times read their reproof in the character of a brave Heathen; and learn, that ſolid happineſs conſiſts in a neglect of wealth and greatneſs, and a contempt of all corporal pleaſures, as more befitting beaſts than immortal ſpirits: and which are loved by none but ſuch, as not knowing the excellency of heavenly things, are both inventing and delighting, like brutes, in that which periſheth: giving the preference to poor mortality, and ſpending their lives to gratify the luſts of a little dirty fleſh and blood, 'that ſhall never enter into 'the kingdom of heaven:' by all which their minds become darkened, and ſo inſenſible of more celeſtial glories, that they do not only refuſe to inquire after them, but infamouſly ſcoff and deſpiſe thoſe that do, as a fooliſh and mad people: to that ſtrange degree of darkneſs and impudence this age has got. But if the exceeding temperance, chaſtity, virtue, induſtry, and contentedneſs of very Heathens, with the plain and neceſſary enjoyments God has been pleaſed to vouchſafe the ſons and daughters of men, as ſufficient to their wants and conveniency (that they may be the more at leiſure to anſwer the great end of their being born) will not ſuffice, but that they will exceed the bounds, precepts, and examples, both of Heathens and of Chriſtians; anguiſh and tribulation will

will overtake them when they ſhall have an eternity to think upon, with gnaſhing teeth, what to all eternity they can never remedy: theſe diſmal wages are decreed for them who ſo far affront God, heaven and eternal felicity, as to neglect their ſalvation from ſin here, and wrath to come, for the enjoyment of a few fading pleaſures. For ſuch to think, notwithſtanding their lives of ſenſe and pleaſure, wherein their minds become ſlaves to their bodies, that they ſhall be everlaſtingly happy, is an addition to their evils; ſince it is a great abuſe to the holy God, that men and women ſhould believe Him an eternal companion of their carnal and ſenſual minds: for, 'as the tree falls, ſo it lies;' and as death leaves men, judgment finds them: and there is no repentance in the grave. Therefore I beſeech you, to whom this comes, to retire: withdraw a while; let not the body ſee all, taſte all, enjoy all; but let the ſoul ſee too, taſte and enjoy thoſe heavenly comforts and refreſhments, proper to that eternal world of which ſhe is an inhabitant, and where ſhe muſt ever abide in a ſtate of peace or plagues, when this viſible one ſhall be diſſolved.

CHAP. XX.

§. 1. The doctrine of Chriſt from Matt. v. about denial of ſelf. §. 2. John Baptiſt's example. §. 3. The teſtimonies of the apoſtle Peter, &c. §. 4. Paul's godly exhortation againſt pride, covetouſneſs, and luxury. §. 5. The primitive Chriſtians non-conformity to the world. §. 6. Clemens Romanus againſt the vanity of the Gentiles. §. 7. Machiavel of the zeal of the primitive Chriſtians. §. 8. Tertullian, Chryſoſtom, &c. on Matt. xii. 36. §. 9. Gregory Nazianzene. §. 10. Jerom. §. 11. Hilary. §. 12. Ambroſe. §. 13. Auguſtine. §. 14. Council of Carthage. §. 15. Cardan. §. 16. Gratian. §. 17. Petrus Bellonius. §. 18. Waldenſes. §. 19. What they underſtood by Daily Bread in the Lord's Prayer. §. 20. Their judgment concerning Taverns. §. 21. Dancing,

Dancing, Muſic, &c. §. 22. An epiſtle of Bartholomew Tertian to the Waldenſian churches, &c. §. 23. Their extreme ſuffering and faithfulneſs. Their degeneracy reproved that call them their anceſtors. §. 24. Paulinus, biſhop of Nola, relieving ſlaves and priſoners. §. 25. Acacius, biſhop of Amida, his charity to enemies.

HAVING abundantly ſhewn, how much the doctrine and converſation of the virtuous Gentiles condemn the pride, avarice, and luxury of the profeſſed Chriſtians of the times; I ſhall, in the next place, to diſcharge my engagement, and farther fortify this diſcourſe, preſent my reader with the judgment and practice of the moſt Chriſtian times; as alſo of eminent writers both ancient and modern. I ſhall begin with the Bleſſed author of that religion.*

§. I. JESUS CHRIST, in whoſe mouth there was found no guile (ſent from God, with a teſtimony of love to mankind, and who laid down his life for their ſalvation; whom God hath raiſed by his mighty power to be Lord of all) is of right to be firſt heard in this matter; 'for never man ſpake like him,' to our point; ſhort, clear, and cloſe; and all oppoſite to the way of this wicked world. Bleſſed (ſays he) are the poor in 'ſpirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God: he doth not ſay, Bleſſed are the proud, the rich, the high-minded: here is humility and the fear of the Lord bleſt. 'Bleſſed are they that mourn, for they ſhall be 'comforted:' he doth not ſay, Bleſſed are the feaſters, dancers, and revellers of the world, whoſe life is ſwallowed up of pleaſure and jollity: no, as he was a man of ſorrows, ſo he bleſſed the godly-ſorrowful. 'Bleſſed are the meek, for they ſhall inherit the earth: he doth not ſay, Bleſſed are the ambitious, the angry, and thoſe that are puffed up: he makes not the earth a bleſſing

* The doctrine and practice of the bleſſed Lord Jeſus and his apoſtles, the primitive Chriſtians, and thoſe of more modern times, in favour of this diſcourſe.

blessing to them: and though they get it by conquest and rapine, it will at last fall into the hands of the meek to inherit. Again, 'Blessed are they which do hunger 'and thirst after righteousness:' but no blessing to the hunger and thirst of the luxurious man. 'Blessed are 'the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy:' he draws men to tenderness and forgiveness, by reward. Hast thou one in thy power that hath wronged thee? be not rigorous, exact not the utmost farthing; be merciful, and pity the afflicted, for such are blessed. Yet farther, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see 'God:' he doth not say, Blessed are the proud, and covetous, the unclean, the voluptuous, the malicious: no, such shall never see God. Again, 'Blessed are 'the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children 'of God:' he doth not say, Blessed are the contentious, back-biters, tale-bearers, brawlers, fighters, makers of war; neither shall they be called the children of God, whatever they may call themselves. Lastly, 'Blessed 'are you, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, 'and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my 'sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your 'reward in heaven:'[a] he blesseth the troubles of his people, and translates earthly sufferings into heavenly rewards. He doth not say, Blessed are you when the world speaks well of you, and fawns upon you: so that his blessings cross the world's; for the World blesseth those as happy, that have the world's favour: He blesseth those as happy that have the world's frowns. This solveth the great objection, "Why are you so foolish to expose yourselves to the law, to incur the displeasure of magistrates, and suffer the loss of your estates and liberties? Cannot a man serve God in his heart, and do as others do? Are you wiser than your fore-fathers? call to mind your ancestors. Will you question their salvation by your novelties, and forget the future good of your wife and children, as well as sacrifice the present comforts of your life, to hold up the credit of a party?" a lan-

[a] Matt. v.

a language I have more than once heard: I say, this doctrine of Christ is an answer and antidote against the power of this objection. He teaches us to embrace truth under all those scandals. The Jews had more to say of this kind than any, whose way had a more extraordinary institution; but Christ minds not either institution or succession. He was a New Man, and came to consecrate a New Way, and that in the will of God; and the power that accompanied his ministry, and that of his followers, abundantly proved the divine authority of his mission, who thereby warns his to expect and to bear contradiction, reviling, and persecution; for if they did it to the Green tree, much more were they to expect that they would do it to the Dry: if to the Lord, then to the servant.

Why then should Christians fear that reproach and tribulation, that are the companions of his religion, since they work to his sincere followers a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory? But indeed they have great cause to fear and be ashamed, who are the authors of such reproach and suffering, so contrary to the meek and merciful spirit of Christ: for if they are blessed who are reviled and persecuted for his sake; the revilers and persecutors must be cursed. But this is not all: he bade his disciples 'follow him, learn 'of him, for he was meek and lowly:' he taught them to bear injuries, and not smite again: to exceed in kindness; to go two miles, when asked to go one; to part with cloke and coat too; to give to them that ask, and to lend to them that borrow; to forgive, aye, and love enemies too; commanding them, saying, 'Bless 'them that curse you; do good to them that hate 'you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, 'and persecute you:'[b] urging them with a most sensible demonstration, 'That, saith he, 'you may be 'the children of your Father which is in heaven; 'for he maketh the sun to rise upon the good and the 'evil,

[b] Matt. v.

'evil, and his rain to descend upon the just and the 'unjust.' He also taught his disciples to believe and rely upon God's Providence, from the care that he had over the least of his creatures: 'Therefore,' saith he, 'I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what 'you shall eat, and what you shall drink, nor yet for 'your body, what you shall put on: is not the life 'more than meat, and the body than raiment? Be-'hold the fowls of the air; for they sow not, neither 'do they reap, nor gather into barns: yet your hea-'venly Father feedeth them; are you not much better 'than they? Which of you by taking thought can 'add one cubit unto his stature? And why take you 'thought for raiment? Consider the lillies of the field, 'how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: 'and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his 'glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, 'if God so clotheth the grass of the field, which to-day 'is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not 'much more clothe you? O ye of little faith! There-'fore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat, or 'what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be 'clothed? (for after all those things do the Gentiles 'seek) for your heavenly Father knoweth that you 'have need of all these things. But seek you first the 'kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all 'these things shall be added unto you. Take there-'fore no thought for to-morrow, for to-morrow shall 'take thought for the things of itself; sufficient is the 'day for the evil thereof.'[c] Oh! how plain, how sweet, how full, yet how brief, are his blessed sentences! they thereby shew from whence they came, and that Divinity itself spoke them. What are laboured, what are forced and scattered in the best of other writers, and not all neither, are here comprized after a natural, easy, and conspicuous manner. He sets nature above art, and trust above care. This is he that himself came poor into the world, and so lived in it: he

[c] Matt. vi.

lay in a manger, converſed with mechanics; faſted much, retired often: and when he feaſted, it was with barley loaves and fiſh, dreſſed doubtleſs in an eaſy and homely manner. He was ſolitary in his life, in his death ignominious: 'The foxes had holes, the birds of the air 'had neſts, but the Son of Man had not a place where-'on to lay his head.' He that made all things as God, had nothing as Man. Which hath this bleſſed inſtruction in it, that the meaneſt and pooreſt ſhould not be dejected, nor yet the richeſt and higheſt be exalted. In fine, having taught this doctrine, and lived as he ſpoke, he died to confirm it; and offered up himſelf a propitiation for the 'ſins of the whole world,' when no other ſacrifice could be found that could atone for man with God: who, riſing above the power of death and the grave, hath led captivity captive, and is become the Firſt-born from the dead, and Lord of the living; and his living people praiſe him, who is worthy for ever.

§. II. JOHN the Baptiſt, who was the fore-runner of Chriſt's appearance in the fleſh, did by his own abſtinence ſufficiently declare what ſort of perſon it was he came to prepare and beſpeak people to receive. For, though ſanctified in his mother's womb, and declared by Chriſt to be the greateſt of all prophets, yet his clothing was but a coarſe garment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle, and his food only locuſts and wild honey: a life very natural, and of great ſimplicity. This was all the pomp and retinue, which the greateſt ambaſſador that ever came to the world was attended with, about the beſt of meſſages, to wit, 'Repent, for the king-'dom of God is at hand.' And 'There is One com-'ing after me, whoſe ſhoes-latchet I am not worthy 'to unlooſe, who ſhall baptize you with fire, and with 'the Holy Ghoſt; and is the Lamb of God that taketh 'away the ſin of the world.'[d] Did the fore-runner of the coming of God (for Emmanuel is God with men) appear without the ſtate, grandeur, and luxury of the world?

[d] Mark i. 7, 8.

world? and shall those who pretend to receive the message, and that for glad tidings too, and confess the Emmanuel, Christ Jesus, to be the Lord, live in the vanity and excess of the world, and care more for their fine clothes, delicate dishes, rich furniture, stately attendance, and pleasant diversion, than for the holy cross of Christ, and the blessed narrow way that leadeth to salvation? Be ashamed and repent!

§. III. Peter, Andrew, Philip, and the rest of the holy apostles, were by calling, as well as doctrine, not a luxurious people; for they were made up of poor fishermen and mechanics: for Christ called not his disciples out of the higher ranks of men; nor had they ability, any more than will, to use the excesses herein reproved. You may conceive what their lives were, by what their Master's doctrine was; for they were the true scholars of his heavenly discipline. Peter thus speaks, and exhorteth the Christians of his time, 'Let not your adorning be that outward adorning of 'plaiting the hair, and the wearing of gold, and of 'putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man 'of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even 'the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in 'the sight of God of great price; for after this manner 'in the old time, the holy women, who also trusted in 'God, adorned themselves. Wherefore gird up the 'loins of your minds, be sober, and hope to the end, 'as obedient children; not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts, in your ignorance, but 'as he which hath called you is holy, so be you holy 'in all manner of conversation; and giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and 'to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly 'kindness, charity: for if these things be in you, and 'abound, they make you that you shall be neither 'barren nor unfruitful: for so an entrance shall be 'administered unto you abundantly, into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ:

'not

'not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing; but 'contrary-wise, bleſſing; knowing that you are there-'unto called, that ye ſhould inherit a bleſſing: for 'even hereunto were ye called, before Chriſt alſo ſuf-'fered for us, leaving us an example, that we ſhould 'follow his ſteps, who did no ſin, neither was guile 'found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, he 'reviled not again; when he ſuffered, he threatened not, 'but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righte-'ouſly.'[e]

§. IV. PAUL, who was alſo an apoſtle, though, as he ſaith, 'born out of due time:' a man of great knowledge and learning, but 'I count it,' ſaith he, 'all 'loſs for the excellency of the knowledge of Chriſt 'Jeſus my Lord, for whom I have ſuffered the loſs of 'all things, and do count them but dung that I may 'win Chriſt. Brethren be followers of me, and mark 'them which walk ſo, as ye have us for an example: 'for many walk, of whom I have told you often, and 'now tell you, even weeping, that they are the ene-'mies of the croſs of Chriſt, whoſe end is deſtruction; 'for their god is their belly, they glory in their ſhame, 'and they mind earthly things. For our converſation 'is in heaven; from whence we look alſo for our 'Saviour, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.[f] In like manner alſo, 'I will that women adorn themſelves in modeſt apparel, 'with ſhamefacedneſs and ſobriety: not with broidered 'hair, or gold, or pearls, or coſtly array; but with 'good works, as becometh women profeſſing godli-'neſs.[g] Be followers of God, as dear children; and 'walk in love, as Chriſt alſo hath loved us; but for-'nication and all uncleanneſs, and covetouſneſs, let 'it not be once named amongſt you, as becometh 'ſaints; neither filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking, nor 'jeſting, which are not convenient; but rather giving 'of thanks: for this ye know, that no whoremonger,

'unclean

[e] 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4. 1 Pet. i. 13, 14, 15. 2 Pet. i. 5, 12. 1 Pet. iii. 9. ch. ii. 21, 22, 23. [f] Phil. iii. 8. [g] 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10.

' unclean perſon nor covetous man, who is an idolater,
' hath an inheritance in the kingdom of Chriſt and of
' God. See then that you walk circumſpectly, not as
' fools, but as wiſe, redeeming the time, becauſe
' the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwiſe, but
' underſtanding what the will of the Lord is; and be not
' drunk with wine, wherein is exceſs, but be filled
' with the Spirit, ſpeaking to yourſelves in hymns and
' ſpiritual ſongs, ſinging, and making melody in your
' hearts to the Lord. Rejoice in the Lord always;
' and I ſay again, Rejoice. Let your moderation be
' known to all men, for the Lord is at hand. Be care-
' ful for nothing; for we brought nothing into this
' world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out:
' and having food and raiment, let us be therewith
' content; for godlineſs with contentment is great
' gain: but they that will be rich, fall into temptation,
' and a ſnare, and into many fooliſh and hurtful luſts,
' which drown men in perdition and deſtruction: for
' the love of money is the root of all evil; which
' whilſt ſome coveted after, they have erred from the
' faith, and pierced themſelves through with many ſor-
' rows. But thou, O man of God, flee theſe things,
' and follow after righteouſneſs, godlineſs, faith, love,
' patience, meekneſs. Fight the good fight of faith,
' and lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art alſo
' called, and haſt profeſſed a good profeſſion before
' many witneſſes. I give thee charge in the ſight of
' God, who quickeneth all things, and before Chriſt
' Jeſus, who before Pontius Pilate witneſſed a good
' confeſſion, that thou keep this commandment with-
' out ſpot, unrebukable, until the appearing of our
' Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Charge them that are rich in this
' world, that they be not high-minded, nor truſt in un-
' certain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us
' richly all things to enjoy; that they do good, that
' they be rich in good works, ready to diſtribute, will-
' ing to communicate, laying up in ſtore for them-
' ſelves a good foundation againſt the time to come,
' that they may lay hold on eternal life. O Timothy,

' keep

'keep that which is committed to thy truſt, avoiding 'profane and vain babblings, and oppoſitions of ſcience, 'falſely ſo called, which ſome profeſſing, have erred 'concerning the faith. Grace be with thee, Amen.'[h] This was the bleſſed doctrine theſe meſſengers of eternal life declared; and, which is more, they lived as they ſpoke. You find an account of their reception in the world, and the way of their living in his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians; 'For I think,' ſaith he, 'that God 'hath ſet forth us (the apoſtles) laſt, as it were men ap-'pointed to death; for we are made a ſpectacle to the 'world, to angels, and to men. We are fools for 'Chriſt's ſake; we are weak, we are deſpiſed; even 'unto this preſent hour we both hunger and thirſt, 'and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, 'working with our hands: being reviled, we bleſs; 'being perſecuted, we ſuffer it; being defamed, we 'entreat. We are made as the filth of the world, and 'are as the off-ſcouring of all things unto this day.'[i] This was the entertainment thoſe faithful followers of Jeſus received at the hands of an ungrateful world: but he who tells us of this, alſo tells us it is no unuſual thing; 'For,' ſaith he, 'ſuch as will live godly 'in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.' Beſides, he knew it had been the portion of the righteous in preceding ages, as in his excellent account of the faith, trials, and victory of the holy ancients, in his epiſtle to the Hebrews, he does largely expreſs, where he tells us, how great a ſojourner Abraham was, even in the land of promiſe, a ſtranger in his own country (for God had given it unto him and his poſterity) 'Dwelling,' ſaith he, 'in tents with Iſaac and Jacob.'[k] And why not better ſettled? Was it for want of underſtanding, or ability, or materials? No, he gives a better reaſon; 'For,' ſaith he, 'Abraham looked for a city which 'had foundations, whoſe builder and maker is God.' And ſpeaking of Moſes, he tells us, 'That by faith, 'when he was come to years of diſcretion, he refuſed 'to

[h] Epheſ. [i] 1 Cor. iv [k] 1 Cor. xi.

'to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter, chooſing 'rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, 'than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon, eſteem-'ing the reproach of Chriſt greater riches than 'the treaſures of Egypt; for he had reſpect unto the 'recompenſe of reward, nor feared he the wrath of 'the king, for he endured, ſeeing him who is inviſible.' He adds, 'And others had trials of cruel mockings 'and ſcourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and im-'priſonments: they were ſtoned, they were ſawed 'aſunder, were tempted, were ſlain with the ſword; 'they wandered about in ſheep-ſkins and goat-ſkins, 'being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the 'world was not worthy. They wandered in deſerts, 'and in mountains, and in dens, and caves of the 'earth; and theſe all have obtained a good report.' Methinks this ſhould a little abate the intemperance of profeſſed Chriſtians, I do not bid them be thus miſerable, but I would not have them make themſelves ſo hereafter; for this afflicted life hath joys tranſcending the utmoſt pleaſure that ſin can give, and in the end it will be found that it were better to be a poor pilgrim, than a citizen of the world. Nor was this only the life and inſtruction of apoſtolical teachers; the ſame plainneſs and ſimplicity of life was alſo followed by the firſt Chriſtians.

§. V. The primitive Chriſtians, OUZELIUS, in his Animadverſions on Minutius Felix, ſaith, were reproached by the Gentiles, for their ill-breeding, rude and unpoliſhed language, unfaſhionable behaviour, as a people that knew not how to carry themſelves in their addreſſes and ſalutations, calling them ruſtics and clowns which the Chriſtians eaſily bore, valuing their profeſſion the more for its nonconformity to the world; wherefore it was uſual with them, by way of irony and contempt, to call the Gentiles, the well-bred, the eloquent, and the learned. This he proves by ample teſtimonies out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Iſiodorus, Peluſiota, Theodoret, and others. Which may inſtruct us, that the Chriſtians behaviour was not regulated

lated by the cuſtoms of the country they lived in, as is uſually objected againſt our ſingularity: no, they refuſed the embelliſhment of art, and would not wear the furniture of her invention; but as they were ſingular in their religion, ſo in the way of their converſation among men.*

§. VI. CLEMENS ROMANUS (if author of the Conſtitutions that go under his name) hath this among the reſt: 'Abſtain from the vain books of the Gentiles. What 'have you to do with vain and unprofitable diſcourſes, 'which only ſerve to ſeduce weak perſons?'† This Clement is remembered by Paul in one of his epiſtles; who in this exactly follows his advice to Timothy, about vain queſtions, doubtful diſputes, and oppoſition of ſcience.[l] Let us ſee how this moderation and purity of manners continued.

§. VII. MACHIAVAL (no mean author) in his Diſputations aſſures us, That the firſt promoters of Chriſtianity were ſo diligent in rooting out the vanities and ſuperſtitions of the Gentiles, that they commanded all ſuch poets and hiſtorians, which commended any thing of the Gentile converſation, or worſhip, to be burned.‖ But that zeal is evidently extinguiſhed, and thoſe follies revived among the profeſſors of the religion of Jeſus.

§. VIII. TERTULLIAN, CHRYSOSTOM, THEOPHYLACT, GREGORY NAZIANZENE,‡ upon theſe words of Chriſt, 'But I ſay unto you, that every idle word that 'men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give an account thereof in 'the day of judgment,'[m] thus reflect upon vain diſcourſe; 'The words mean (ſaith Tertullian) of all vain and 'ſuperfluous ſpeech, more talk than is neceſſary:' Says Chryſoſtom, 'Of ſuch words as are not convenient 'nor profitable, but move immodeſty.' Says Theophylact, 'Of all lies, calumnies, all inordinate and ri-'diculous ſpeeches.' Says Gregory, 'Such words 'men

* Animad. in Min. Fel. P. 25 † Conſtit. Clem. Rom. l. 1 c 2. [l] Phil. iv 3 ‖ Mach. Diſ. l. 2 c 5 ‡ Tert. lib. de Patien. Chryſoſt. [m] Mat. xii 36.

'men shall account for, which want that profit ever 'redounding from modest discourses, and that are sel-'dom uttered from any preceding necessity or cause; 'things frivolous, fables, old wives tales.' All which sufficiently reprehend the plays, poetry, and romances of the times, of great folly, vanity and sin.

§. IX. GREGORY, and this a father of the church, a very extraordinary man, was so zealous for the simplicity and purity of the mind, language, and lives of the Christians of his time, that he suppressed several Greek authors, as Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, and others, which were the recreations of the vain Gentiles: Thus Cardan. Hear his judgment of fine clothes (none of the least part of the luxury and vanity of the age) 'There be some,' saith he, 'of opinion that the wearing of precious and 'sumptuous apparel is no sin: which, if it were no 'fault, the Divine Word would never have so punc-'tually expressed, nor historically related, how the 'rich man, that was tormented in hell, was clothed 'in purple and silk; whence we may note, that touch-'ing the matter or subject of attire, human curiosity 'availeth highly. The first substance of our garments 'was very mean, to wit, skins with wool; whence it is 'we read, God made Adam and his wife coats of skins; 'that is, skins of dead beasts. Afterwards (to see 'the growing pride and vanity of men and women) 'they come to pure wool, because lighter; after that 'to flax; then to dung and ordure of worms, to wit, 'silk; lastly, to gold and silver, and precious stones: 'which excess of apparel highly displeased God: for 'instance whereof (which the very Pagans themselves 'observed) we read, that the very first among the 'Romans that ever wore purple was struck with a 'thunder-bolt, and so died suddenly, for a terror to 'all succeeding times, that none should attempt to live 'proudly, in precious attire.' This was the sense of Gregory Nazianzene, that ancient Christian writer, who wore commonly a poor coat, like to a frock: so

did Juſtin Martyr, Jerom, and Auſtin, as their beſt robe.

§. X. Jerom (a famous man, alſo ſtyled a father of the church) above all others ſeems poſitive in this matter, in an epiſtle he wrote to a noble virgin, called Demetias, in which he exhorted her, That after ſhe had ended her devotion, ſhe ſhould take in hand wool and weaving, after the commendable example of Dorcas; that by ſuch changing and variety of works, the day might ſeem leſs tedious, and the attempts of Satan leſs grievous; concluding his religious exhortation with this poſitive ſentence: (ſaith he) 'I ſpeak gene-'rally; no raiment or habit whatſoever ſhall ſeem pre-'cious in Chriſt's ſight, but that which thou makeſt 'thyſelf: either for thy own particular uſe, or example 'of other virgins, or to give unto thy grandmother 'or mother: no, though otherwiſe thou didſt diſtribute 'thy goods to the poor.'[n] Let butthis ſtrictneſs be conſidered, and compared with the apparel and converſation of the age; for, however Phariſee-like they otherwiſe ſaint him, and call him an Holy Father, ſure it is, they reject his counſel.

§. XI. Hilary, biſhop of Poictiers, a father of the church, and famous for his writings againſt the Arians, having travelled into Syria, was informed, that Abra, his only daughter, whom he left with her mother, was by the greateſt lords of the country ſolicited in marriage; being a young woman well-bred, fair and rich, and in the prime of her age. He wrote to her, earneſtly preſſing her, By no means to fix her affections upon the pleaſure, greatneſs, or advantage that might be preſented to her; for in his voyage he had found a greater and worthier match, an huſband of far more power and magnificence, who would endow her with robes and jewels of an ineſtimable value. This he did to take off her deſires from the world, that he might wed her unto God: and it was his fervent and frequent prayer, which in ſome ſenſe was anſwered; for ſhe lived religi-

[n] Acts ix 36 39.

religiously, and died a virgin: Which shewed great nobility of mind, that taught his daughter to tread upon the mountains of worldly glory; and it was not less honourable in her that so readily yielded to the excellent counsel of her pious father.

§. XII. Ambrose, another father, who was lieutenant of the province and city of Milan, and upon his discreet appeasing of the multitude, disordered upon some difference amongst them about electing a bishop, was by their uniform consent chosen himself: although this person of all others, might have been thought to plead for the accustomed recreations, especially not having been long a Christian (for he was a Catechumenist, or one but lately instructed) at the time of his being elected; yet doth he in so many words determine the matter thus: 'Plays ought not to be known by Christi-'ans:' then not made, heard, and defended by Christians; or there must be none that do so.

§. XIII. Augustine, more famous for his many books, and knowledge in church affairs, whose sentences are oracles with some, gives this as his opinion of plays, and the like recreations, 'That they were more 'pernicious and abominable, than those idolatrous sa-'crifices, which were offered in honour of their Pagan 'gods.'* Doubtless he thought the one not so offensive to reason, and the impressions Divinity hath made on every understanding, as the other were very pleasant to the senses, and therefore apt to steal away the mind from better things. For it was his maxim 'That every thing a man doth, is either an hindrance 'or furtherance to good.'† This would be esteemed intolerable doctrine in a poor Quaker; yet will the poor Quakers rejoice, if it be esteemed and followed, as good doctrine in Augustine.

§. XIV. The Council of Carthage, though times began to look somewhat mistier, and the purity and spirituality of religion to be much declined by the professors of Christianity; yet there was so much zeal left

* August. de civit. Dei. l. 2 c. 7 † De ira Dei. l. 2 c. 7.

left againſt the worſt part of Heatheniſm, that I find an expreſs Canon againſt the reading of vain books and comedies of the Gentiles, leſt the minds of the people ſhould be defiled by them. But this age either hath no ſuch canon, or executeth it not, to the ſhame of their profeſſion.

§. XV. CARDAN more particularly relateth, how even Gregory the Great was ſo zealous of preſerving purity of manners among Chriſtians (who lived almoſt two hundred years after the Carthagenian council) that he cauſed many Latin authors to be burned, as vain and laſcivious; as Cæcilianus, Affranius, Nævius, Licinus, Zennius, Attilius, Victor, Livy's Dialogues: Nor did Plautus, Martial, and Terrence (ſo much in requeſt, both in the ſchools and academies of the land) eſcape their honeſt zeal, although the multitude of copies ſo far fruſtrated their good intentions, as that they are multiplied of late.*

§. XVI. GRATIAN alſo had ſuch like paſſages as theſe, 'We ſee that the prieſts of the Lord, neglecting the 'goſpel and the prophets, read comedies or play-'books, and ſing love-verſes, and read Virgil (a book 'in which are yet ſome good expreſſions.'‖ Strange! that theſe things ſhould have been ſo ſeverely cenſured of old, and that perſons whoſe names are had in ſo much reverence, ſhould repute theſe their cenſures the conſtruction of Chriſt's precepts, and the natural conſequences of the Chriſtian doctrine; and yet that they ſhould be ſo far neglected of this age, as not to be judged worthy an imitation. But pray let us hear what doctrine the Waldenſes teach in this affair.

§. XVII. PETRUS BELLONIUS, that great and inquiſitive traveller, when he came to Mount Athos, where there live in ſeveral monaſteries ſix thouſand Coloeri, or religious perſons (ſo called) he did not ſo much as find there (no, nor in all Greece) one man acquainted with the converſation of thoſe parts; for though they had ſeveral

* Cardan. de Sapient. l. 2 P. 40 41.

‖ Jac. Laurentio de lib. Gentil.

several manuscripts of divinity in their libraries, yet not one poet or historian; for the rulers of that church were such enemies to that sort of learning, that they anathematized all such priests and religious persons, as should read or transcribe any books but what treated of religion: and persuaded all others, that it was not lawful for a Christian to study poesy, &c. though nothing is more grateful in these days. Zeno was of the same opinion against poetry.*

§. XVIII. WALDENSES, were a people so called from one Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, in France, in the year 1160, that inhabited Piedmont, elsewhere called Albigenses, from the country of Albia; Lollards in England, from one Reynard Lollard, who some time after came into these parts and preached boldly against the idolatries, superstitions, and vain conversation of the inhabitants of this island. They had many other names, as Arnoldists, Esperonists, Henricians, Siccars, Insabaches, Patarenians, Turlupins, Lyonists, Fraticelli, Hussites, Bohemians (kill the same); but finally, by their enemies, Damnable Heretics, though by the Protestants, The true Church of Christ. And, to omit many testimonies, I will only instance in bishop Usher, who in his discourse of the succession of the Christian church, defends them not only as true reformers, but makes the succession of the Protestant church to be mainly evincible from their antiquity. I shall forbear all the circumstances and principles they held, or in which he strongly defends them against the cruelty and ignorance of their adversaries, particularly Rainerius, Rubis Capetaneis, &c. only what they held concerning our present subject of Apparel and Recreations, I cannot be so injurious to the truth, their self-denial, the good of others, at whose reformation I aim, and my own discourse, as to omit it. And therefore I shall proceed

* Pet. Bell. obser. l. 1. c. 25. ibid. c. 42. cap. 30. † XII. Cap. Hist. de orig. Walden. Virgin. Hist. Bibl. p. 130. Dubran. Hist. Bohem. 14. Thuan. in Hist. sui temp. p. 453. Mat Paris; Hist. of Engl. An. 1174. Bellar. tom. 2. lib. 1. cap. 26. co. 86. Echius, com. loc. c. 22. Alp. l. 6. Con. Hieret. p. 99.

proceed to alledge their faith and practice in these matters, however esteemed but of a trifling importance, by the loose, wanton, and carnal minded of this generation, whose feeling is lost by the enjoyment of their inordinate desires, and that think it an high state of Christianity to be no better than the beasts that perish, namely, in not being excessive in Newgate and mere kennel-enormities. That these ancient reformers had another sense of these things, and that they made the conversation of the gospel of a crucified Jesus to intend and require another sort of life, than what is used by almost all those who account themselves members of his church, I shall shew out of their own doctrines, as found in their most authentic histories.

§. XIX. To be brief: in their Exposition upon the Lord's Prayer, that part of it which speaks thus, 'Give 'us this day our daily bread;' where, next to that spiritual bread (which they make it the duty of all to seek more than life) they come positively to deny the praying for more than is requisite for outward necessities, or that it is lawful to use more; condemning all superfluity and excess, out of fashion, pride, or wantonness, not only of bread, but all outward things, which they judge to be thereby comprehended; using Ezekiel's words, 'That fulness of bread, and abun-'dance of idleness, was the cause of the wickedness and 'the abominations of Sodom, for which God by fire 'destroyed them off the earth.'* Whereupon they conclude, with an ancient father of the primitive church, after this manner, 'That costly apparel, superfluity in diet (as three dishes, when one will serve) play, idleness and sleep, fatten the body, nourish luxury, weaken the spirit, and lead the soul unto death: But (say they) a spare diet, labour, short sleep, plain and mean garments, help to purify the soul, tame the body, mortify the lust of the flesh and comfort the spirit.' So severe were they, that in that chapter of the instructions

* Jo. Paul. Per. Hist. Wald. in cat. l. 1. c. 3. p. 37, 31. Dona nos le nostre pan quotidian. en. choi. Memor. Morrel. Vign. Mem. f. 7. Ezek. xvi. 45. Thesaur. fed. Ap. Wald.

tions of their children, they would not ſuffer them to converſe with thoſe of ſtrange places or principles, whoſe converſation was gaming, plays, and the like wanton recreations; but eſpecially concerning young women, " A man (ſay they) muſt have a great care of his daughter: haſt thou daughters? keep them within to wholeſome things; ſee they wander not: for Dinah, Jacob's daughter, was corrupted by being ſeen of ſtrangers. " * They affirm no better to be the general event of ſuch converſation.

To which I ſhall add their judgment and practice concerning taverns, public houſes for treats and pleaſures, with which the land ſwarms in our days.

§. XX. " A tavern is the fountain of ſin, the ſchool of the Devil; it works wonders fitting the place: it is the cuſtom of God to ſhew his power in his church, and to work miracles; that is to ſay, to give ſight to the ſpiritually blind, to make the lame to leap, the dumb to ſing, the deaf to hear: but the Devil doth quite the contrary to all theſe in taverns, and the like places of pleaſure. For when the drunkard goes to the tavern, he goes upright; but when he comes forth he cannot go at all; he has loſt his ſight, ſpeech, and hearing too. The lectures that are read in this ſchool of the Devil (ſay theſe poor Waldenſes, and firſt reformers) are gluttonies, oaths, perjuries, lyings, blaſphemies, flatteries, and divers other wicked villanies and pernicious effects, by which the heart is withdrawn farther and farther from God.‡ And, as the book of Eccleſiaſticus ſaith, 'The taverner ſhall not be freed 'from ſin.'

But above other recreations, do but ſeriouſly obſerve of what danger and ill conſequence theſe firſt reformers thought Dancing, Muſic, and the like paſtimes to be, which are the greateſt divertiſements of the times, viz.

§. XXI. " Danc-

* Ibid. l. 2. c. 3. Liſilli ſign. naiſſon ali patrons carnals. de non eſſer rendus, &c. ‡ Ibid. l. 2. c. 3. La taverna de maiſons de pleiſirs es fortuna de pecca Eſchola del Diavola, &c.

§. XXI. "Dancing is the Devil's proceſſion, and he that enters into a dance, entereth into his proceſſion; the Devil is the guide, the middle, and the end of the dance; as many paces as a man maketh in dancing, ſo many paces doth he make to go to hell. A man ſinneth in dancing divers ways, for all his ſteps are numbered; in his touch, in his ornaments, in his hearing, ſight, ſpeech, and other vanities. And therefore we will prove, firſt by the ſcripture, and afterwards by divers other reaſons, how wicked a thing it is to dance. The firſt teſtimony that we will produce, is that which we read in the goſpel, where it is ſaid, it pleaſed Herod ſo well, that it coſt John Baptiſt his life. The ſecond is in Exodus, when Moſes coming near to the congregation, ſaw the calf, he caſt the tables from him, and broke them at the foot of the mountain; and afterwards it coſt three thouſand of their lives. Beſides, the ornaments which women wear in their dances, are as crowns for many victories, which the Devil hath got againſt the children of God; for the Devil hath not only one ſword in the dance, but as many as there are beautiful and well-adorned perſons in the dance; for the words of a woman are a glittering ſword. And therefore that place is much to be feared, wherein the enemy hath ſo many ſwords, ſince that only one ſword of his may be juſtly feared." Again, "The Devil in this place ſtrikes with a ſharpened ſword; for the women (who make it acceptable) come not willingly to the dance, if they be not painted and adorned; which (painting and ornament) is as a whetſtone, on which the Devil ſharpeneth his ſword.——They that deck and adorn their daughters, are like thoſe that put dry wood to the fire, to the end it may burn the better: for ſuch women kindle the fire of luxury in the hearts of men. As Sampſon's foxes fired the Philiſtines corn; ſo theſe women, they have fire in their faces, and in their geſtures and actions, their glances and wanton words, by which they conſume the goods of men." They proceed, "The Devil in the dance uſeth the ſtrongeſt armour that he hath; for his moſt powerful arms

arms are women: which is made plain unto us, in that the Devil made choice of the woman to deceive the firſt man: ſo did Balaam, that the children of Iſrael might be rejected of God. By a woman he made Sampſon, David, and Abſalom to ſin. The Devil tempteth men by women three manner of ways; that is, by the touch, by the eye, by the ear; by theſe three means he tempteth fooliſh men to dancing, by touching their hands, beholding their beauty, hearing their ſongs and muſic."—Again, "They that dance break that promiſe and agreement they made with God in baptiſm, when their godfathers promiſe for them, That they ſhall renounce the devil and all his pomp: for dancing is the pomp of the Devil; and he that danceth, maintaineth his pomp, and ſingeth his maſs. For the woman that ſingeth in the dance, is the prioreſs (or chiefeſt) of the Devil, and thoſe that anſwer are the clerks, and the beholders are the pariſhioners, and the muſic are the bells, and the fidlers the miniſters of the Devil. For, as when hogs are ſtrayed, if the hog-herd call one, all aſſemble themſelves together; ſo the Devil cauſeth one woman to ſing in the dance, or to play on ſome inſtrument, and preſently gather all the dancers together." Again, "In a dance, a man breaks the Ten Commandments of God: as firſt, 'Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me,' &c. for in dancing a man ſerves that perſon whom he moſt deſires to ſerve (after whom goes his heart):* and therefore Jerom ſaith, 'Every man's God is that he ſerves and loves beſt (and that he loves beſt, which his thoughts wander and gad moſt after).' He ſins againſt the Second commandment, when he makes an idol of that he loves. Againſt the Third; in that oaths, and irivolouſly uſing God's name, are frequently amongſt dancers. Againſt the Fourth; for that by dancing the ſabbath-day is profaned. Againſt the Fifth; for

* La Bales la profeſ. del. Diavol. & qui intra an la Bal. &c. Sp. Alm. fol. 50 51 52 53 54 Job xiv 16 Pſ. xxxvii 23 Prov. xvi. 9 Jer. x 23. Mark vi. 23 24 25 26 27 28 Exod. xxii 4 5 6 7

in the dance parents are many times dishonoured, since thereby many bargains are made without their counsel. Against the Sixth ; a man kills in dancing ; for every one that sets about to please another, he kills the soul as oft as he persuades unto lust. Against the Seventh : for the party that danceth, be it male or female, committeth adultery with the party they lust after ; ' for ' he that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath ' already committed adultery with her in his heart.' Against the Eighth ; a man sins in dancing, when he withdraweth the heart of another from God. Against the Ninth, when in dancing he speaks falsely against the truth (and for some little honour, or secret lascivious end, denies what is true, or affirms what is false). Against the Tenth, when women affect the ornaments of others, and men covet the wives, daughters, and servants of their neighbours (which undeniably attends all such plays and sports.)" Again, " A man may prove how great an evil dancing is, by the multitude of sins that accompany those that dance, for they dance without measure or number : and therefore, saith Augustine, the miserable dancer knows not, that as many paces as he makes in dancing, so many leaps he makes to hell.* They sin in their ornaments after a five-fold manner : First, by being proud thereof. Secondly, by inflaming the hearts of those that behold them. Thirdly, when they make those ashamed, that have not the like ornaments, giving them to covet the like. Fourthly, by making women importunate in demanding the like ornaments of their husbands : and, Fifthly, when they cannot obtain them of their husbands, they seek to get them elsewhere by sin. They sin by singing and playing on instruments ; for their songs bewitch the hearts of those that hear them with temporal delight, forgetting God ; uttering nothing in their songs but lies and vanities ; and the very motion of the body, which is used in dancing, gives testimony enough of evil.—Thus you see, that dancing

* Jerom. in dec. int. oper.

ing is the Devil's proceſſion, and he that enters into a dance enters into the Devil's proceſſion. Of dancing, the Devil is the guide, the middle, and the end; and he that entereth a good and wiſe man into the dance (if it can be that ſuch a one is either good or wiſe) cometh forth a corrupt and wicked man: Sarah, that holy woman was none of theſe."* Behold the apprehenſions of thoſe good old reformers, touching thoſe things that are ſo much in practice and reputation in theſe times, with ſuch as profeſs their religion; thus far verbatim. But I cannot leave off here till I have yet added the concluſion of their Catechiſm and Direction, with ſome paſſages out of one of their paſtors letters, fit to the preſent occaſion.

They conclude with this direction; namely, How to rule their bodies, and live in this world, as becomes the children of God. Not to ſerve the mortal deſires of the fleſh. To keep their members, that they be not arms of iniquity (and vanity). To rule their outward ſenſes. To ſubject the body to the ſoul. To mortify their members. To fly idleneſs. To obſerve a ſobriety and meaſure in eating and drinking, in their words and cares of this life. To do works of mercy. To live a moral (or juſt) life by faith. To fight againſt the deſires. To mortify the works of the fleſh. To give themſelves to the exerciſe of religion. To confer together touching the will of God. To examine diligently the conſcience. To purge, and amend, and pacify the ſpirit.‡

To which I ſhall add the epiſtle of one of their paſtors, as I find it recorded amongſt other matters relating to theſe poor afflicted people.

§. XXII. An

* Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. ‡ Ibid. l. ii Concl. p. 68 Encaren qual manier. fidel. debian. regir. li ler. corps. Non ſervali deſ rier mort. &c.

§. XXII. An Epiſtle of Paſtor Bartholomew Tertian, written to the Waldenſian churches of the valley of Pragela, thus tranſlated.

JESUS BE WITH YOU.

"TO all our faithful and well-beloved brethren in Chriſt Jeſus, health and ſalvation be with you all, Amen. Theſe are to put you in remembrance, and to admoniſh you, my brethren (hereby acquitting myſelf of that duty which I owe unto you all, in the behalf of God, principally touching the care of your ſouls ſalvation, according to that light of the truth which the moſt high God hath beſtowed on us) that it would pleaſe every one of you to maintain, increaſe and nouriſh, to the uttermoſt of your power, without diminution, thoſe good beginnings and examples, which have been left unto us by our fore-fathers, whereof we are no ways worthy. For it would little profit us to have been renewed by the fatherly viſitation, and the light which hath been given us of God, if we give ourſelves to worldly, carnal converſations, which are diabolical, abandoning the principle which is of God, and the ſalvation of our ſouls, for this ſhort and temporal life.* For the Lord ſaith, 'What doth it profit 'a man to gain the whole world, and to loſe his own 'ſoul?' For it would be better for us never to have known the way of righteouſneſs, than having known it to do the contrary. Let me therefore entreat you, by the love of God, that you decreaſe not, or look back; but rather increaſe the charity, fear and obedience, which is due unto God, and to yourſelves, amongſt yourſelves; and ſtand faſt in all theſe good principles, which you have heard and underſtood of God by our means: and that you would remove from amongſt you all vain converſation and evil ſurmiſes, troubling the peace, the love, the concord, and whatſoever would indiſpoſe or deaden your minds to the ſervice of God, your

* Hiſt. Wald. l. 4 c. 11 p. 55 56 57.

your own ſalvation, and the adminiſtration of the truth, if you deſire that God ſhould be merciful to you in your goods temporal and ſpiritual: For you can do nothing without him; and if you deſire to be heirs of his glory, do that which he commandeth: 'If you would enter 'into life keep my commandments.'[e]

Likewiſe be careful, that there be not nouriſhed among you, any ſports, gluttony, whoredom, dancings, nor any lewdneſs, or riot, nor queſtions, nor deceits, nor uſury, nor diſcords, nor ſupport or entertain any perſons of a wicked converſation, or that give any ſcandal or ill example amongſt you: but let charity and fidelity reign amongſt you, and all good example: doing one to another as every one deſires ſhould be done unto him; for otherwiſe it is impoſſible that any ſhould be ſaved, or can have the grace of God, or be good men in this world, or have glory in another. And therefore, if you hope and deſire to poſſeſs eternal life, to live in eſteem and credit, and to proſper in this world, in your goods temporal and ſpiritual, purge yourſelves from all diſorderly ways, to the end that God may be always with you, who forſakes not thoſe that truſt in him. But know this for certain, that God heareth not, nor dwelleth with ſinners, nor in the ſoul that is given unto wickedneſs, nor in the man that is ſubject to ſin. And therefore let every one cleanſe the ways of his heart, and fly the danger, if he would not periſh therein. I have no other thing at this preſent, but that you would put in practice theſe things; and the God of peace be with you all, and go along with us, and be preſent among us in our ſincere, humble and fervent prayers; and that he will be pleaſed to ſave all thoſe his faithful, that truſt in Chriſt Jeſus.

Entirely yours, ready to do you ſervice in all things poſſible, according unto the will of God.

BARTHOLOMEW TERTIAN.'

§. XXIII. Be-

[e] Mat. xix. 17.

§. XXIII. Behold the life and doctrine, inſtruction and practice of the ancient Waldenſes! how harmleſs, how plain, how laborious, how exceeding ſerious, and heavenly in their converſations! Theſe were the men, women, aye and children too, who, for above five hundred years, have valiantly, but paſſively, maintained a cruel war, at the expenſe of their own innocent blood, againſt the unheard-of cruelties and ſeverities of ſeveral princes, nuncios, and biſhops; but above all, of certain cruel inquiſitors, of whom their hiſtorians report, that they held it was a greater evil to conceal an heretic, than to be guilty of perjury; and for a clergyman to marry a wife, than to keep a whore. In ſhort, to diſſent, though never ſo conſcientiouſly, was worſe than open immorality. It was againſt the like adverſaries theſe poor Waldenſes fought, by ſufferings throughout the nations, by priſons, confiſcations, baniſhments, wandering from hill to valley, from den to cave, being mocked, whipped, racked, thrown from rocks and towers, driven on mountains, and in one night thouſands periſhed by exceſſive froſts and ſnows, ſmothered in caves, ſtarved, impriſoned, ripped up, hanged, diſmembered, rifled, plundered, ſtrangled, broiled, roaſted, burned: and whatſoever could be invented to ruin men, women and children.* Theſe Waldenſes you Proteſtants pretend to be your anceſtors; from them you ſay you have your religion; and often, like the Jews of the prophets, are you building their praiſes in your diſcourſes: but oh! look back, I beſeech you, how unlike are you to theſe afflicted pilgrims! What reſemblance is there of their life in yours? Did they help to purchaſe and preſerve you a liberty and religion (can you think) at the loſs of all that was dear to them, that you might paſs

* Bern. de Gir. lord de Hail. Hiſt. de la Fr. l. 10. veſemb. Orat. in Wald. Beza Hiſt. hom. dig. virer. de ver. & falſa Rel. l. 4. c. 13. p. 249. Cat. Teſt. ve. 324. Vigin. Bib. Hiſt. p. 1. Vieaux Mem. fol. 6. 7. Mat. Par. in Hen. 3. An. 1220. Sigonius de Reg. Ital. l. 7.

pafs away your days and years in pride, wantonnefs and vanity? What proportion bears your excefs with their temperance? your gaudinefs with their plainnefs? your luxury and flefh-pleafing converfations with their fimplicity and felf-denial? But are you not got into that fpirit and nature they condemned in their day? into that carnality and worldly-mindednefs they reproved in their perfecutors? nay, into a ftrain of perfecution too, whilft you feem to hide all under a cloke of reformation? How can you hope to confute their perfecutors, whofe worft part perhaps was their cruelty, that turn perfecutors yourfelves? What have you, befides their good words, that is like them. And do you think that words will fend off the blows of eternal vengeance? that a little by-rote-babble (though of never fo good expreffions in themfelves) fhall ferve your turn at the great day?* No, from God I tell you, that whilft you live in the wantonnefs, pride, and luxury of the world, pleafing and fulfilling the luft of the eye, the luft of the flefh, and the pride of life, God deteft you all, and laughs you and your worfhip to fcorn.[f] Never tell me, I am too rafh, it is the Devil that fays fo: he has got two fcriptures by the end in thefe days; one, 'That there is none that doeth good;' and why? that he may perfuade all, it is impoffible to overcome him; which is the reafon fo many are overcome: although glory is promifed to none but conquerors. The fecond, 'That we muft not judge, left we be judged:' that is, whilft we are guilty of the fame things that are equivalent, left we are judged.† But away with Satan and his hypocrify too: I know what I fay, and from whom I fpeak: once more I tell you all, whether you will hear or forbear, that unlefs you forfake your pride, luxury, avarice, and whole variety of vanities, and diligently mind the eternal light of God in your hearts, to obey it, wrath will be your portion for ever. Truft not your fouls upon

* Sernay, c. 47. Chef. l. 3. c. 7. [f] 1 John ii. 14, 15, 16, 17.
† The Devil a fcripturian fometimes.

upon misapplied scriptures; 'He that is a child of God, 'must be holy, for God is holy, and none are his sons 'and daughters, but those who are adopted by the eter-'nal Spirit, and led thereby.'[g] It was an holy, plain, humble, divine life, these poor suffering Christians both professed and practised, refusing to converse with such as lived in the superfluities and excess of the world; for which, if you will believe their very adversaries, they were persecuted: for says Rainerius (a great writer against them) "They use to teach, first, what the disciples of Christ ought to be, and that none are his disciples, but they that imitate his life; and that the popes, cardinals, &c. because they live in luxury, pride, avarice, &c. are not the successors of Christ; but themselves only, in that they walk up to his commandments: thus (says he) they win upon the people." But if so, that none are Christians but those that imitate Christ, what will become of those who call themselves Christians, and yet live at ease in the flesh, not regarding the work of the holy cross of Christ in their hearts, that crucifies them that bear it to the world, and the world to them? This was the true ground of their sufferings, and their loud cries against the impieties of the greatest; not sparing any ranks, from the throne of the dunghill, as knowing their God was no respecter of persons.* And now, if you would follow them indeed, if you would be Protestants in substance, and learn your enemies a way worth their changing for else better words go but a little way) if you would obtain the heavenly inheritance, and you would be eternally blessed, be ye persuaded to forsake all the pride and the pomp of this vain world. O mind the concerns of an everlasting rest! Let the just and serious principle of God within you be the constant guide and companion of your minds;

[g] 1 Pet. i. 12, 13, 14. Rom. viii. 1 to 16. * Rain. cap. de sect. prevent. alios & modo dicendi. l. 9?. Barron. Ecc. Annal. tom. 12. an. 1179. p. 855. Kranz. in Metrop. l. 8. sect. 18. & in Sax. l. 8. cap. 15.

minds; and let your whole hearts be exercised thereby; that you may experience an entire reformation and change of affections, through the power of that Divine Leaven, which leavens the whole lump,[b] viz. body, soul, and spirit, where it is received: to which, and its work in man, our blessed Lord likened the kingdom of God, which he came to set up in the soul: that so having the joys and glory of another world in your view, you may give your best diligence to make your calling and election, to the possession of them, sure and certain; lest selling that noble inheritance for a poor mess of perishing pottage, you never enter into his eternal rest. And though this testimony may seem tedious, yet could it by no means be omitted.———To authorize our last reason, of converting superfluities into the relief of distressed persons (although one would think it is so equal and sober, that it needs no other authority than its own, yet) I shall produce two testimonies, so remarkable, that as they ever were esteemed truly good, so they cannot be approved by any that refuse to do the same, without condemning themselves of great iniquity. O you are called with an high and holy call; as high as heaven, and as holy as God; for it is he that calls us to holiness, through Christ, who sent his Son to bless us, in turning us from the evil of our ways: and unless we are so turned, we can have no claim to the blessing that comes by Christ to men.

§. XXIV. It is reported of PAULINUS, bishop of Nola, in Italy; that instead of converting the domains of his diocese to particular enrichments, he employed it all in the redemption of poor slaves and prisoners; believing it unworthy of the Christian faith, to see God's creation labour under the want of what he had to spare.* All agree this was well done, but few agree to do the same.

§. XXV. But more particularly of ACACIUS, bishop of Amidi, given us by Socrates Scholasticus, in this manner;

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[b] Matt. xiii 33 * Ecc. Hist. P. 5 393

manner; " When the Roman ſoldiers purpoſed in no wiſe to reſtore again unto the king of Perſia ſuch captives as they had taken at the winning Azazena, being about ſeven thouſand in number (to the great grief of the king of Perſia) and all of them ready to ſtarve for food; Acacius lamented their condition, and calling his clergy together, ſaid thus unto them, Our God hath no need of Diſhes or Cups, for he neither eateth nor drinketh; theſe are not his neceſſaries: wherefore ſeeing the church hath many precious Jewels, both of Gold and Silver, beſtowed of the free will and liberality of the faithful, it is requiſite that the captive ſoldiers ſhould be therewith redeemed, and delivered out of priſon and bondage; and they, periſhing with famine, ſhould therewith be refreſhed and relieved. Thus he prevailed to have them all converted into money; ſome for their immediate refreſhment, ſome for their redemption, and the reſt for coſtage or proviſion, to defray the charges of their voyage.* Which noble act had ſuch an univerſal influence, that it more famed the Chriſtian religion amongſt the Infidels, than all their diſputes and battles: Inſomuch that the king of Perſia, and an Heathen, ſaid, The Romans endeavour to win their adverſaries both by wars and favours; and greatly deſired to behold that man, whoſe religion taught ſo much charity to enemies; which, it is reported, Theodoſius, the emperor, commanded Acacius to gratify him in." And if the apoſtle Paul's expreſſion hath any force, 'That he is worſe than an infidel, who pro-'vides not for his family;'[i] how greatly doth this example aggravate your ſhame, that can behold ſuch pity and compaſſion expreſſed to ſtrangers, nay enemies, and thoſe Infidels too, and be ſo negligent of your own family (for England, aye, Chriſtendom, in a ſenſe, if not the World, is no more) as not only to ſee their great neceſſities unanſwered, but that wherewith they ſhould be ſatisfied, converted to gratify the luſt of

* Socrat. Scholaſt. l. 7 c. 21 [i] 1 Tim. v. 1.

of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life. But however ſuch can pleaſe themſelves, in the deceitful daubing of their mercenary prieſts, and dream they are members of Jeſus Chriſt, it is certain that things were otherwiſe in the beginning; for then all was ſold and put into a common purſe, to ſupply indigencies: Not mattering earthly inheritances, farther than as they might in ſome ſenſe be ſubſervient to the great end for which they were given, namely, the good of the creation. Thus had the pureſt Chriſtians their minds and thoughts taken up with the better things, and raiſed with the aſſurance of a more excellent life and inheritance in the heavens, that will never paſs away.[k] And for any to flatter themſelves with being Chriſtians, whilſt ſo much exerciſed in the vanities, recreations, and cuſtoms of the world, as to this very day we ſee they are, is to mock the great God, and abuſe their immortal ſouls. The Chriſtian life is quite another thing.

And leſt that any ſhould object, "Many do great and ſeemingly good actions to raiſe their reputation only; and others only decry pleaſure, becauſe they have not wherewithal, or know not how to take it;" I ſhall preſent them with ſerious ſayings of Aged and Dying men, and thoſe of the greateſt note and rank; whoſe experience could not be wanting to give the trueſt account how much their Honours, Riches, Pleaſures, and Recreations conduced to their ſatisfaction, upon a juſt reckoning, as well before their extreme moments, as upon their dying beds, when Death, that hard paſſage into eternity, looked them in the face.

[k] Acts iv 32 33 34 35 36 37

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Serious Dying, as well as Living TESTIMONIES

§. 1. Solomon. §. 2. Chilon. §. 3. Ignatius. §. 4 Juſtin Martyr. §. 5. Chryſoſtom. §. 6. Charles V. §. 7. Michael de Montaigne. §. 8. Cardinal Wolſey. §. 9. Sir Philip Sidney. §. 10. Secretary Walſingham. §. 11. Sir John Maſon. §. 12. Sir Walter Raleigh. §. 13. H. Wotton. §. 14. Sir Chriſtopher Hatton. §. 15. Lord chancellor Bacon. §. 16. The great duke of Momerancy. §. 17. Henry prince of Wales. §. 18. Philip III. king of Spain. §. 19. Count Gondamor. §. 20. Cardinal Richlieu. §. 21. Cardinal Mazarine. §. 22. Chancellor Oxciſtern. §. 23. Dr. Dun. §. 24. Jo. Selden. §. 25. H. Grotius. §. 26. P. Salmaſius. §. 27. Fran. Junius. §. 28. A. Rivetus. §. 29. The late earl of Marlborough. § 30. Sir Henry Vane. §. 31. Abraham Cowley. §. 32. Late earl of Rocheſter. §. 33. One of the family of Howard. §. 34. Princeſs Elizabeth of the Rhine. §. 35. Commiſſioner Whitlock. §. 36. A ſiſter of the family of Penn. §. 37. My own father. §. 38. Anthony Lowther of Maſk. §. 39. Seigneur du Renti.

III. The ſerious Apprehenſions and Expreſſions of ſeveral Aged and Dying Men of Fame and Learning.

§. 1. SOLOMON, than whom none is believed to have more delighted himſelf in the enjoyments of the world, at leaſt better to have underſtood them; hear what he ſays, after all his experience; 'I 'ſaid in my heart, Go to now; I will prove thee with 'Mirth; therefore enjoy Pleaſure: And behold, this 'alſo is vanity. I ſaid of Laughter, It is mad; and 'of Mirth, What doth it? I made me great Works, 'builded Houſes, planted Vineyards, made Gardens 'and Orchards, planted trees in them of all kind of 'fruit: I got me Servants and Maidens; alſo great 'poſſeſ-

'poſſeſſions; I gathered me Silver and Gold, and the 'peculiar treaſures of Kings and Provinces; alſo men 'and Women Singers, and the delights of the ſons of 'men; as Muſical Inſtruments, and that of all ſorts: 'So I was great, and increaſed more than all that were 'before me in Jeruſalem; and whatſoever mine eyes 'deſired, I kept not from them; I withheld not mine 'heart from any joy. Then I looked on all the works 'which my hands had wrought, and behold, All was 'Vanity and Vexation of Spirit.'[1] The reaſon he gives in the 18th and 19th verſes is, that the time of enjoying them was very ſhort, and it was uncertain who ſhould be benefitted by them when he was gone. Wherefore he concludes all with this; 'Fear God, and keep his 'commandments, for this is the whole duty of man: 'For God ſhall bring every work into judgment, whe-'ther it be good, or whether it be evil.' Oh that men would lay this to heart!

§. 11. CHILON (one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, already mentioned upon another occaſion) affords us a dying teſtimony of great example: It is related thus by Agellius: When his life drew towards an end, ready to be ſeized by death, he ſpoke thus to his friends about him: 'My words and actions in this long term of 'years, have been (almoſt all) ſuch as I need not re-'pent of; which, perhaps, you alſo know. Truly, 'even at this time I am certain,' "I never committed "any thing, the remembrance of which begets any "trouble in me," 'unleſs this one thing only; which 'whether it were done amiſs, or not, I am uncertain. 'I ſat with two others, as judge, upon the life of my 'Friend; the law was ſuch, as the perſon muſt of ne-'ceſſity be condemned; ſo that either my Friend muſt 'loſe his life, or ſome deceit be uſed towards the Law. 'Revolving many things in my mind, for relief of a 'condition ſo deſperate, I conceived that which I put 'in practice to be of all other the moſt eaſy to be 'borne: Silently I condemned him, and perſuaded

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[1] Eccl. ii 1 to 11.

'thoſe others, who judged, to abſolve him. Thus I 'preſerved in ſo great a buſineſs, the duty both of a 'Judge and Friend. But from that act I received this 'trouble; that I fear it is not free from perfidiouſneſs 'and guilt, in the ſame buſineſs, at the ſame time, and 'in a public affair, to perſuade others contrary to what 'was in my own judgment beſt.'* O tender conſcience! Yet an Heathen's! Where dwells the Chriſtion that excelleth? Hard to be found among the great Rabbies of Chriſtendom.

§. III. IGNATIUS, who lived within the firſt hundred years after Chriſt, and was torn in pieces of wild beaſts at Rome, for his true faith in Jeſus, left this, amongſt other things, behind him: 'There is nothing better 'than the peace of a Good Conſcience:' Intimating, there might be a peace to wicked conſciences, that are paſt feeling any thing to be evil, but ſwallowed up of the wickedneſs of the world. And in his epiſtle to the churches at Epheſus, Magnetia, Trallis, and Rome, upon his martyrdom, ſaith, 'Now I begin to be a diſ-'ciple; I weigh neither viſible nor inviſible things, ſo 'that I may gain Chriſt.'† O heavenly-minded man! A bleſſed martyr of Jeſus indeed.

§. IV. JUSTIN MARTYR, a philoſopher (who received Chriſtianity five and twenty years after the death of Ignatius) plainly tells us, in his relation of his converſion to the Chriſtian faith, 'That the power of 'godlineſs in a plain ſimple Chriſtian had that influ-'ence and operation on his ſoul, that he could not but 'betake himſelf to a ſerious and ſtrict life:' And yet before he was a Cynic; a ſtrict ſect. And this gave him joy at his martyrdom, having ſpent his days as a ſerious teacher, and a good example. And Euſebius relates, 'That though he was alſo a follower of Plato's 'doctrine; yet, when he ſaw the Chriſtians piety and 'courage, he concluded, no people ſo temperate, leſs 'volup-

* Severus, Apop. p. 175 † Ignatius Epiſt. ad Epheſ. Mag. Trall. Rom. Euſ. l. 3. c. 32.

'voluptuous, and more set on divine things:' Which first induced him to be a Christian.‡

§. V. CHRISOSTOM, another father, so called, lays this down for necessary doctrine, 'To sacrifice the whole 'soul and body to the Lord, is the highest service we 'can pay unto him. God promiseth mercy unto peni-'tent sinners; but he doth not promise them they shall 'have so much time as to-morrow for their repent-'ance.'

§. VI. CHARLES, V. emperor of Germany, king of Spain, and lord of the Netherlands, after three and twenty pitched fields, six triumphs, four kingdoms conquered, and eight principalities added to his dominions (a greater instance than whom can scarce be given) resigned up all his pomp to other hands, and betook himself to his retirement; leaving this testimony behind him, concerning the life he spent in the honours and pleasures of the world, and in that little time of his retreat from them all: 'That the sincere 'study, profession, and practice of the Christian reli-'gion, had in it such joys and sweetness, as COURTS 'were strangers to.'

§. VII. MICHAEL DE MONTAIGNE (a lord of France, famous with men of letters for his book of Essays) giveth these instructions to others, and this character of himself, viz. 'Amidst our banquets, feasts, and plea-'sures, let us have ever this restraint or object of 'Death before us; that is, the remembrance of our 'condition: And let not pleasure so much mislead or 'transport us, that we altogether neglect or forget how 'many ways our joys, or our feastings, be subject unto 'Death, and by how many holdfasts she threateneth us 'and you. So did the Egyptians, who in the midst 'of their banquetings, and in the full of their greatest 'cheer, caused the Anatomy of a Dead Man to be 'brought before them, as a memorandum and warning 'to their guests. I am now, by means of the mercy 'of God, in such a taking, that without regret, or 'grieving

‡ Euseb. Ecc. Hist. l. 4 c. 8.

'grieving at any worldly matter, I am prepared to 'diſlodge, whenſoever he ſhall pleaſe to call me. I 'am every where free; My farewel is ſoon taken of 'all my friends, except of myſelf. No man did ever 'prepare himſelf to quit the world more ſimply and 'fully, or more generally lay aſide all thoughts of it, 'than I am fully aſſured I ſhall do. All the glory I 'pretend in my life, is, that I have lived Quietly: 'Quietly, not according to Metrodorus, Arceſilaus, 'or Ariſtippus; but according to Myſelf. Since phi-'loſophy could never find any way for tranquillity, 'that might be generally good;' "Let every man in 'his own particular ſeek for it." Let us not propoſe 'ſo fleeting and ſo wavering an end unto ourſelves, as 'the World's Glory; Let us conſtantly follow reaſon: 'And let the Vulgar Approbation follow us that way, 'if it pleaſe. I care not ſo much what I am with 'others, as I reſpect what I am IN MYSELF: I will be 'rich in myſelf, and not by borrowing. Strangers ſee 'but external appearances and events: Every man can 'ſet a good face upon the matter, when within he is 'full of care, grief and infirmities: They ſee not my 'heart, when they look upon my outward counte-'nance.—We are nought but ceremony; Ceremony 'doth tranſport us, and we leave the Subſtance of 'things: we hold faſt by the boughs, and leave the 'trunk or body, the Subſtance of things, behind us.'

§. VIII. CARDINAL WOLSEY, the moſt abſolute and wealthy miniſter of ſtate this kingdom ever had, that in his time ſeemed to govern Europe as well as England, when come to the period of his life, left the world with this cloſe reflection upon himſelf; 'Had I been as dili-'gent to ſerve my God, as I was to pleaſe my king, 'he would not have left me now in my gray hairs.' A diſmal reflection for all worldly-minded men; but thoſe more eſpecially who have the power and means of doing more good than ordinary in the world, and do it not; which ſeems to have been the caſe and re-flection of this great man.

§. IX. Sir

§. IX. Sir PHILIP SIDNEY (a ſubject indeed of England, but, they ſay, choſen king of Poland; whom queen Elizabeth called HER PHILIP; the prince of Orange, HIS MASTER; whoſe friendſhip the lord Brooks was ſo proud of, that he would have it part of his epitaph, "Here lies Sir Philip Sidney's friend;" Whoſe death was lamented in verſe by the then kings of France and Scotland, and the two univerſities of England) repented ſo much at his death of that witty vanity of his life, his Arcadia, that to prevent the unlawful kindling of heats in others, he would have committed it to the flames himſelf; and left this farewel amongſt his friends, 'Love my memory; cheriſh my friends; their faith to 'me may aſſure you that they are honeſt; But above 'all, govern your will and affections by the Will and 'Word of your Creator. In me behold the end of this 'World, and all its Vanities.' And indeed he was not much out in ſaying ſo, ſince in him was to be ſeen the end of all natural parts, acquired learning, and civil accompliſhments. His farewel ſeems ſpoken without terror, with a clear ſenſe, and an equal judgment.

§. X. Secretary WALSINGHAM, an extraordinary man in queen Elizabeth's time, towards the concluſion of his days, in a letter to his fellow-ſecretary, Burleigh then lord treaſurer of England, writes thus: 'We have lived enough to our Country, our Fortunes, our Sovereign: It is high time we begin to live to Ourſelves, and to our God.' Which giving occaſion for ſome court-droll to viſit, and try to divert him; 'Ah! '(ſaith he) while we laugh, all things are ſerious 'round about us; God is ſerious, when he preſerveth 'us; and hath patience towards us; Chriſt is ſerious, 'when he dieth for us; the Holy Ghoſt is ſerious, 'when he ſtriveth with us; the whole creation is ſerious, in ſerving God and us; they are ſerious in hell 'and in heaven: And ſhall a man that hath one foot 'in his grave, Jeſt and Laugh?' O that our ſtateſmen would weigh the conviction, advice, and concluſion of this great man; and the greateſt man, perhaps, that

has borne that character in our nation. For true it is, that none can be serious too soon, because none can be good too soon. Away then with all foolish talking and jesting, and let people mind more profitable things!

§. XI. JOHN MASON, knight, who had been privy-counsellor to four princes, and spent much time in the preferments and pleasure of the world, retired with these pathetical and regretful sayings: 'After so many 'years experience, SERIOUSNESS is the greatest Wisdom; 'TEMPERANCE the best Physic; a GOOD CONSCIENCE 'is the best Estate. And were I to live again, I would 'change the court for a cloister, my privy-councellor's 'bustles for an hermit's retirement, and the whole life 'I lived in the palace, for one hour's enjoyment of God 'in the chapel. All things else forsake me, besides my 'God, my Duty, and my Prayers.'

§. XII. Sir WALTER RALEIGH is an eminent instance, being as extraordinary a man as our nation hath produced: In his person, well descended; of health, strength, and a masculine beauty: In understanding, quick; in judgment, sound; learned and wise, valiant and skilful: An Historian, a Philosopher, a General, a Statesman. After a long life, full of experience, he drops these excellent sayings a little before his death, to his son, to his wife, and to the world, viz. 'Exceed 'not in the humour of Rags and Bravery; for these 'will soon wear out of fashion: And no man is 'esteemed for Gay Garments, but by fools and 'Women. On the other side, seek not Riches basely, 'nor attain them by evil means: Destroy no man for 'his Wealth, nor take any thing from the Poor; for the 'cry thereof will pierce the heavens: And it is most de-'testable before God, and most dishonourable before 'worthy men, to wrest any thing from the needy and 'labouring soul: God will never prosper thee, if thou 'offendest therein; but use thy poor neighbours and 'tenants well.' [A most worthy saying! But he adds] 'Have compassion on the Poor and Afflicted, and God 'will bless thee for it: Make not the hungry soul 'sorrowful; for if he curse thee in the bitterness of 'his

'his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made 'him. Now, for the world (dear child) I know it too 'well, to persuade thee to dive into the practices of it: 'Rather stand upon thy own guard against all those that 'tempt thee to it, or may practise upon thee; whether 'in thy Conscience, thy Reputation, or thy Estate: Re-'solve, that no man is Wise or Safe, but he that is Ho-'nest. Serve God; let him be the author of all thy 'actions: Commend all thy endeavours to him, that 'must either wither or prosper them; Please him with 'prayer; lest if he frown, he confound all thy fortune 'and labour, like the drops of rain upon the sandy ground. 'Let my experienced advice, and fatherly instruction, 'sink deep into thy heart: So God direct thee in all 'thy ways, and fill thy heart with his grace.'

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's Letter to his WIFE, after his condemnation.

YOU shall receive, my dear wife, my last words, in these my last lines. My Love I send to you, 'That you may keep when I am dead; and my counsel 'that you may remember it when I am no more. I 'would not, with my will, present you Sorrows, dear 'Bess; let them go to the grave with me, and be 'buried in the dust: and seeing that it is not the will 'of God that I shall see you any more, bear my de-'struction patiently; and with an heart like yourself. 'First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can 'conceive, or my words express, for your many tra-'vails and cares for me which though they have not 'taken effect, as you wished, yet my debt to you is not 'the less; but pay it I never shall in this world. 'Secondly, I beseech you for the love you bear me 'living, that you do not hide yourself many days; 'but by your travails seek to help my miserable for-'tunes, and the right of your poor child; your mourn-'ing cannot avail me, who am but dust. Thirdly,

'you ſhall underſtand, that my lands were conveyed '(*bona fide*) to my child; the writings were drawn at 'Midſummer was a twelve-month, as divers can wit-'neſs; and I truſt my blood will quench their malice, 'who deſired my ſlaughter, that they will not ſeek to 'kill you and yours with extreme poverty. To what 'friend to direct you I know not; for all mine have 'left me in the true time of trial. Moſt ſorry am I 'that being ſurprized by death, I can leave you no 'better eſtate; God hath prevented all my determina-'tions, that great God which worketh all in all. If 'you can live free from want, care for no more; for 'the reſt is but a vanity. Love God, and begin be-'times; in him ſhall you find true, everlaſting, and 'endleſs comfort: When you have travelled, and 'wearied yourſelf with all ſorts of worldly cogitations, 'you ſhall ſit down by ſorrow in the end. Teach 'your ſon alſo to Serve and Fear God, whilſt he is 'young, that the fear of God may grow up in him; 'then will God be an Huſband to you, and a Father 'to him; an Huſband and a Father, that can never be 'taken from you. Dear Wife, I beſeech you, for my 'ſoul's ſake, Pay all Poor Men. When I am dead, 'no doubt but you will be much ſought unto; for the 'world thinks I was very rich; have a care of the fair 'pretences of men; for no greater miſery can befal 'you in this life, than to become a prey unto the 'world, and after to be deſpiſed. As for me, I am 'no more yours, nor you mine: Death has cut us 'aſunder; and God hath divided me from the world, 'and you from me. Remember your poor child, for 'his father's ſake, who loved you in his happieſt eſtate. 'I ſued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you 'and yours that I deſired it: For know it my dear 'wife, your child is the child of a True Man, who in 'his own reſpect deſpiſeth death, and his miſhapen 'and ugly forms. I cannot write much; God knows 'how hardly I ſteal this time, when all are aſleep: 'And it is alſo time for me to ſeparate my thoughts 'from the world. Beg my dead body, which living

'was

'was denied you; and either lay it in Sherburne, or 'in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can 'say no more; Time and death call me away. The 'everlasting God, powerful, infinite, and inscrutable, 'God Almighty, who is Goodness itself, the TRUE 'LIGHT and LIFE, keep you and yours, and have 'mercy upon Me, and forgive my persecutors, and false 'accusers; and send us to meet in his glorious 'kingdom. My dear wife, farewel; bless my boy, 'pray for me; and let my True God hold you both in 'his arms.

'Yours that was, but not now my own,

'WALTER RALLIGH.'

Behold wisdom, resolution, nature, and grace! how strong in argument, wise in counsel, firm, affectionate, and devout. O that your heroes and politicians would make him their example in his death, as well as magnify the great actions of his life. I doubt not, had he been to live over his days again, with his experience, he had made less noise, and yet done more good to the world and himself. It is a sad thing to consider, that men hardly come to know themselves, or the world, till they are ready to leave it.

§. XIII. HENRY WOTTON, knight, thought it, 'The 'greatest happiness in this life, to be at leisure, to be 'and to do good;' as in his latter end he was wont to say, when he reflected on past times, though a man esteemed sober and learned, 'How much time have I to repent of, and how little to do it in!'

§. XIV. Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, a little before his death, advised his relations to be serious in the search after 'the will of God in the Holy Word:' For (said he) it is deservedly accounted a piece of excellent knowledge to understand the law of the land, and the customs of a man's country; how much more to know the statutes of heaven, and the laws of eternity; those immutable and eternal laws of justice and righteousness! To know the will and pleasure of the

Great

Great Monarch and Universal King of the world! 'I have seen an end of all perfection; but thy commandments, O God, are exceeding broad.'—Whatever other knowledge a man may be endued withal, could he by a vast and imperious mind, and an heart as large as the sand upon the sea shore, command all the knowledge of art and nature, of words and things; could he attain a mastery in all languages, and sound the depth of all arts and sciences; could he discourse the interest of all states, the intrigues of all courts, the reason of all civil laws and constitutions, and give an account of all histories; 'and yet not know the 'Author of his being, and the preserver of his life, 'his sovereign, and his judge: his surest refuge in 'troubles; his best friend, or worst enemy; the support of his life, and the hope of his death; his future 'happiness, and his portion for ever; he doth but '*sapienter descendere in infernum*, with a great deal of 'wisdom go down to hell.'

§. XV. Francis Bacon, lord high chancellor of England, some time before his death confessed, 'That 'to be religious, was to live strictly and severely: 'For if the opinion of another world be false, yet the 'sweetest life in this world, is piety, virtue, and honesty: 'If it be true, there be none so wretched and miserable, 'as loose, carnal, profane persons.'

§. XVI. The great duke of Momerancy, colleague to the duke of Orleans (brother to the French king Lewis the thirteenth) in the war by them agitated against the ministry of Cardinal Richlieu, being taken and convicted at Lyons, a little before his beheading, looking upon himself, then very richly attired; 'Ah! '(says he) this becomes not a servant of the crucified 'Jesus! What do I with these vanities about me? 'He was poor, despised, and naked, when he went to 'the cross to die for my sins:' And immediately he stript himself of all his finery, and put a more grave and modest garment on him. A serious reflection at a time when he best knew what was best.

§. XVII.

§. XVII. HENRY, prince of Wales, eldeſt ſon to king JAMES the Firſt, of whom others ſay many excellent things, hear what account he gives of himſelf at laſt: A perſon whom he loved, and that had been the companion of his diverſions, being with him in his ſickneſs, and aſking him, How he did? Was, amongſt many other ſober expreſſions, anſwered thus, 'Ah Tom! 'I in vain wiſh for that time I loſt with thee, and 'others, in vain recreations.' So vain were recreations, and ſo precious was time to a prince, and no ordinary one neither, upon a dying-bed. But why wiſhed he, with others, for more time, but that it might be better employed? Thus hath the Juſt Principle, and Holy Spirit of God in men, throughout all generations, convinced them of their vanity and folly upon their dying-beds, who before were too much taken up to mind either a dying-bed, or a vaſt eternity; but when their days were almoſt numbered, when mortality haſtened on them, when the revelation of the righteous judgment was at the door, and that all their worldly recreations and enjoyments muſt be parted with, and that eye for ever ſhut, and fleſh turned to worms meat, that took delight therein; then, oh, then it was, the Holy Witneſs had room to plead with conſcience: Then nothing but a holy, ſtrict, and ſevere life was valuable; then 'All the world for 'a little time,' who before had given all their time for a little of a vain world. But if ſo ſhort a repreſentation of the inconſiſtency of the vanities of the world with the Chriſtian life could make ſo deep an impreſſion; oh! to what a noble ſtature, and large proportion, had they been grown in all pious and heavenly knowledge, and how much greater had their rewards been, if they contentedly had foregone thoſe periſhing entertainments of the world by times, and given the exerciſe of their minds to the tuition and guidance of that Univerſal Grace and Holy Spirit of God, which had ſo long ſhined in darkneſs, uncomprehended of it, and was at laſt but juſt perceived to give a ſight of what they had been doing all their days.

§. XVIII.

§. XVIII. Philip III. king of Spain, seriously reflecting upon the life he had led in the world, cried out upon his death-bed, 'Ah, how happy were I, had 'I spent these twenty-three years that I have held my 'kingdom, in a retirement.' Crying out to his confessor, 'My concern is for my soul, not my body: I 'lay all that God has given me, my dominion, power, 'and my life, at the feet of Jesus Christ my Saviour.' Would kings would live, as well as die so!

§. XIX. Count Gondamor, ambassador in England for that very king, and held the ablest man of his time, who took great freedom as to his religion in his politics, serving his ends by those ways that would best accomplish them. When towards his latter end, he grew very thoughtful of his past life; and after all his negotiations and successes in business, said to one of his friends, 'I fear nothing in the world more than sin.' Often professing, 'He had rather endure hell than sin.' So clear and strong were his convictions, and so exceeding sinful did sin appear to him, upon a serious consideration of his ways.

§. XX. Cardinal Richlieu, after having been first minister of state of Europe, as well as of France, confessed to old Peter de Moulin, the famous Protestant of that country, 'That being forced upon many irregula-'rities by that which they call REASON OF STATE, 'he could not tell how to satisfy his conscience for 'several things; and therefore had many temptations 'to doubt and disbelieve a God, another world, and 'the immortality of the soul, and thereby to relieve 'his mind from any disquiet, but in vain: So strong, 'he said, was the notion of God on his soul, so clear 'the impression of him upon the frame of the world, 'so unanimous the consent of mankind, so powerful 'the convictions of his own conscience, that he could 'not but "Taste the power of the world to come," 'and so live as one that must die, and so die as one that 'must live for ever.' And being asked one day, Why he was so sad? answered, 'Monsieur, Monsieur,

'the

'the soul is a serious thing; it must be either sad here 'for a moment, or be sad for ever.'

§. XXI. Cardinal MAZARINE, reputed the cunningest statesman of his time, and who gave great proofs of it in the successes of the French crown under his ministry: his aim was the Grandeur of the world, to which he made all other considerations submit: But, poor man! he was of another mind a little before his death: For being awakened by the smart lashes of conscience, which represented his soul's condition very dismal, with astonishment and tears he cried out, 'O my poor soul, 'what will become of thee! Whither wilt thou go?' And spoke one day thus to the queen mother of France, 'Madam, your favours have undone me: Were I to live 'again, I would be a Capúchin, rather than a Courtier.'

§. XXII. Count OXCISTERN, chancellor of Swedeland, a person of the first quality, station, and ability in his own country; and whose share and success, not only in the chief ministry of affairs in that kingdom, but in the greatest negociations of Europe, during his time, made him no less considerable abroad. After all his knowledge and honour, being visited in his retreat from public business by commissioner Whitlock, ambassador, to queen Christina, in the conclusion of their discourse, he said to the ambassador, 'I have seen much, and en-'joyed much of this world; but I never knew how to 'Live till now. I thank my good God that has given 'me time to know Him, and to know Myself. All 'the comfort I have, and all the comfort I take, and 'which is more than the whole world can give, is 'Feeling the Good Spirit of God in my heart, and 'reading in this good book (holding up the bible) 'that came from it.' And farther addressed himself thus to the ambassador: 'You are now in the prime of 'your age and vigour, and in great favour and busi-'ness; but this will all leave you, and you will one 'day better understand and relish what I say to you: 'and then you will find that there is more wisdom,

'truth, comfort, and pleaſure in retiring and turning 'your heart from the world, to the good Spirit of God, 'and in reading the bible, than in all the courts and 'favours of princes.' This I had, as near as I am able to remember, from the ambaſſador's own mouth more than once. A very edifying hiſtory, when we conſider from whom it came; one of the greateſt and wiſeſt men of his age; while his underſtanding was as ſound and vigorous, as his experience and knowledge were great.

§. XXIII. Dr. DONNE, a great poet, taking his farewel of his friends, on his dying-bed, left this ſaying behind him, for them to meaſure their fancies and their actions by: 'I repent of all my life, but that part of it 'I ſpent in communion with God, and doing good.'

§. XXIV. SELDEN, one of the greateſt ſcholars and antiquaries of his time: one who had taken a diligent ſurvey of what knowledge was conſiderable amongſt the Jews, Heathens, and Chriſtians: at laſt profeſſeth this, toward the end of his days, in his conference with biſhop Uſher, 'That notwithſtanding he had been ſo 'laborious in his inquiries, and curious in his collec-'tions, and had poſſeſſed himſelf of a treaſure of 'books and manuſcripts upon all ancient ſubjects; yet 'he could reſt his ſoul on none, ſave the ſcriptures:' And above all, that paſſage lay moſt remarkable upon his ſpirit, Titus ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. 'For the grace 'of God, that bringeth ſalvation, hath appeared unto 'all men; teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs, and 'worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and 'godly in this preſent world; looking for that bleſſed 'hope, and glorious appearing of the great God, and 'our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; who gave himſelf for us, 'that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and 'purify unto himſelf a peculiar people, zealous of 'good works: Theſe things ſpeak and exhort, and 'rebuke with all authority.' And indeed it is one of the moſt comprehenſive paſſages in ſcripture; for it compriſes the End, Means, and Recompenſe of Chriſtianity.

§. XXV.

§. XXV. HUGO GROTIUS, than whom these latter ages think they have not had a man of more universal knowledge (a light, say the Statesmen; a light, say the Churchmen too) witness his "Annals," and his book, "De Jure Belli & Pacis;" also his "Christian Religion, "and Elaborate Commentaries." He winds up his life and choice in this remarkable saying, which should abate the edge of other men's inordinate desires after what they falsely call learning; namely, 'I would give 'all my learning and honour for the plain integrity of 'JEAN URICK,' who was a religious poor man, that spent eight hours of his time in prayer, eight in labour, and but eight in meals, sleep, and other necessaries. And to one that admired his great industry, he returned this by way of complaint: 'Ah! I have 'consumed my life in laboriously doing nothing.' And to another, that inquired of his wisdom and learning what course to take? He solemnly answered, 'Be serious.' Such was the sense he had, how much a serious life excelled, and was of force towards a dying hour.

§. XXVI. To whom I join SALMATIUS, that famous French scholar, and the other's contemporary; who (after his many volumes of learning, by which he had acquired great veneration among men of books confessed so far to have mistaken True Learning, and that in which solid happiness consists, that he exclaimed thus against himself: 'Oh! I have lost a world of time! 'Time, that most precious thing in the world! Where-'of, had I but one year more, it should be spent in 'David's Psalms and Paul's Epistles. Oh, Sirs! (said 'he to those about him) Mind the World less, and God 'more. The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to 'depart from evil, that is understanding.'[a]

§. XXVII. FRANCIS JUNIUS, an ingenious person, who hath writ his own life; as he was reading "Tully "de Legibus," fell into a persuasion, "*Nihil curare Deum nec sui nec alieni*;" till in a tumult in Lyons the

[a] Prov. ix 10 and xvi 17

the Lord wonderfully delivered him from imminent death; so that he was forced to acknowledge a divine Providence therein. And his father hearing the dangerous ways that his son was misled into, sent for him home, where he carefully and piously instructed him, and caused him to read over the New Testament; of which he himself writeth thus: 'When I opened the 'New Testament, I first lighted upon John's first chapter, "In the beginning was the Word," &c. I read 'part of the chapter, and was suddenly convinced, that 'the Divinity of the Argument, and the majesty and 'authority of the writing, did exceedingly excel all the 'eloquence of Human Writings: My body trembled, 'my mind was astonished, and was so affected all that 'day, that I knew not where and what I was. Thou 'wast mindful of me, O my God, according to the multitude of thy mercies, and calledst home thy lost sheep 'into the fold.' And as Justin Martyr of old, so he of late professed, 'That the power of godliness, in a plain 'simple Christian, wrought so upon him, that he could 'not but take up a strict and a serious life.'

§. XXVIII. A. Rivetus, a man of learning, and much reverenced in the Dutch nation, after a long life of study, in search of divine knowledge, upon his deathbed, being discoursed by his friend of heavenly things, brake forth in this manner; 'God has learned me more 'of himself in ten days sickness, than I could get by 'all my Labour and Studies.' So near a way, so short a cut it is to the knowledge of God, when people come into the Right Way, which is, To turn in their minds and hearts to the voice of God, and learn of him, who is a Spirit, to be taught of him, and led by him: 'For 'in righteousness such shall be established, and great 'shall be their peace.'

§. XXIX. A

§. XXIX. A Letter from JAMES earl of MARLBOROUGH, a little before his death, in the battle at ſea, on the coaſt of Holland, &c.

'I Believe the goodneſs of your nature, and the friendſhip you have always borne me, will receive with kindneſs the laſt office of your friend. I am in health enough of body, and (through the mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt) well diſpoſed in mind. This I premiſe, that you may be ſatisfied that what I write proceeds not from any fantaſtic terror of mind, but from a ſober reſolution of what concerns myſelf, and earneſt deſire to do you more good after my death, than mine example (God of his mercy pardon the badneſs of it) in my life-time may do you harm. I will not ſpeak ought of the vanity of this world; your own age and experience will ſave that labour; but there is a certain thing that goeth up and down the world, called RELIGION, dreſſed and pretended fantaſtically, and to purpoſes bad enough; which yet, by ſuch evil dealing, loſeth not its being. The Great Good God hath not left it without a witneſs, more or leſs, ſooner or later, in every man's boſom, to direct us in the purſuit of it; and for the avoiding of thoſe inextricable diſquiſitions and entanglements our own frail reaſons would perplex us withal. God in his infinite mercy hath given us his Holy Word; in which, as there are many things hard to be underſtood, ſo there is enough plain and eaſy to quiet our minds, and direct us concerning our future being. I confeſs to God and you, I have been a great neglecter, and (I fear) deſpiſer of it: (God of his infinite mercy pardon me the dreadful fault). But when I retired myſelf from the noiſe and deceitful vanity of the world, I found no true comfort in any other reſolution, than what I had from thence. I commend, from the bottom of my heart, the ſame to your (I hope) happy uſe. Dear Hugh, let us be more generous, than to believe we die as the beaſts

that

'that perish; but with a Christian, manly, brave resolu-
'tion, look to what is eternal. I will not trouble you
'farther. The only Great God and Holy God, Father,
'Son, and Holy Ghost, direct you to an happy end of
'your life, and send us a joyful resurrection!

'So prays your true friend,

'MARLBOROUGH.'

§. XXX. The late Sir HENRY VANE must be too fresh in memory to need a character; but it is certain his parts were of the first rate, and superior to the generality of men; yet he would often say, 'He owed them 'to religion.' In his youth he was much addicted to company, and promised little to business; but in reading of a book called "The Signs of a Godly Man," and being convicted in himself that they were just, but that he had no share in any one of them; he fell into that extreme Anguish and Horror, that for some Days and Nights he took little food or rest; which at once dissolved his old friendships, and made those impressions and resolutions to religion, that neither University, Courts, Princes, nor Parents, nor any Losses, or Disappointments, that threatened his New Course of Life, could weaken or alter. And though this laid him under some disadvantages for a time, his great integrity and abilities quickly broke through that obscurity; so that those of very differing sentiments did not only admire, but very often desired him to accept the most eminent negociations of his country; which he served according to his own principles, with great success, and a remarkable self-denial. This great man's maxim was, 'Religion was the Best Master, and 'the Best Friend; for it made men wise, and would 'never leave them that never left it;' which he found true in himself; For as it made him wiser than those that had been his teachers, so it made him firmer than any hero, having something more than nature to support him (which was the judgment as well of foreigners as others, that had the curiosity to see him die);

die); making good some meditations of his own, viz. 'The Day of Death is the judge of all our other days; 'the very trial and touchstone of the actions of our life. 'It is the end that crowns the work, and a Good 'Death honoureth a man's whole life. The fading 'corruption and loss of this life, is the passage into a 'better. Death is no less essential to us, than to live 'or to be born. In flying Death, thou flieſt thyself; 'thy essence is equally parted into these two, Life 'and death. It is no small reproach to a Christian, 'whose faith is in immortality, and the blessedness of 'another life, to fear Death much, which is the ne-'cessary passage thereunto.'

§. XXXI. Abraham Cowley (whom to name, is enough with the men of wit of our time and nation) speaks not less in favour of the Temperance and Solitude so much laboured in the preceding discourse: Yet that his judgment may have the more force with the reader, it may be fit that I should say, That he was a man of a sweet and singular wit, great learning, and an even judgment; that had known what cities, universities, and courts could afford; and that not only at home, but in divers nations abroad. Wearied with the world, he broke through all the entanglements of it; and, which was hardest, great friendship, and a perpetual praise; and retired to a solitary cottage near Barn-Elms, where his garden was his pleasure, and he his own gardener: Whence he giveth us this following doctrine of retirement, which may serve for an account how well he was pleased in his change. 'The first 'work (saith he) that a man must do to make himself 'capable of the good of solitude, is the very eradica-'tion of all lusts: for how is it possible for a man 'to enjoy himself, while his affections are tied to 'things without himself. The first minister of state 'hath not so much business in public, as a wise man 'hath in private: If the one have little leisure to be 'alone, the other hath less leisure to be in company; 'the one hath but part of the affairs of one nation, 'the other all the works of God and nature under his

'consider-

'consideration. There is no saying shocks me so much, 'as that which I hear very often, "That a man "doth not know how to pass his time." 'It would 'have been but ill spoken of Methuselah, in the nine 'hundred sixty-ninth year of his life. But that is 'not to deceive the world, but to deceive ourselves, as 'Quintilian saith, *Vitam fallere*, To draw on still, and 'amuse and deceive our life, till it be advanced insen-'sibly to the fatal period, and fall into that pit 'which nature hath prepared for it. The meaning of 'all this is no more, than that most vulgar saying, "Bene qui latuit, bene vixit;" 'He hath lived well, 'who hath lain well hidden. Which, if it be a truth, 'the world is sufficiently deceived; For my part, I 'think it is; and that the pleasanteſt condition in life 'is incognito. What a brave privilege is it, to be 'free from all contentions, from all envying, or being 'envied, from receiving and from paying all kind of 'ceremonies! We are here amongſt the vast and no-'ble scenes of nature; we are there among the pitiful 'shifts of policy: We walk here in the light, and 'open ways of the divine bounty; we grope there in 'the dark and confused labyrinths of human malice: 'Our senses are here feasted with the clear and genuine 'taste of their objects; which are all sophisticated there: 'and, for the most part overwhelmed with their con-'traries. Here pleasure looks, methinks, like a beau-'tiful, constant, and modest wife; it is there an im-'pudent, fickle, and painted harlot. Here is harm-'less and cheap plenty; There, guilty and expensive 'luxury. The antiquity of this art is certainly not to 'be contested by any other. The three first men in 'the world, were a Gardener, a Ploughman, and a Gra-'zier: And if any man object, That the second of these 'was a Murderer; I desire he would consider, that as 'soon as he was so, He quitted our Profession, and turned 'Builder. It is for this reason, I suppose, that the son 'of Sirach forbids us to hate husbandry; because (saith he) the Most High hath created it. We were 'all born to this art, and taught by nature to nourish 'our

'our bodies by the ſame earth out of which they were 'made, and to which they muſt return, and pay at 'laſt for their ſuſtenance. Behold the Original and 'Primitive Nobility of all thoſe Great perſons, who 'are too proud now not only to Till the ground, but 'almoſt to tread upon it. We may talk what we pleaſe 'of lilies and lions rampant, and ſpread eagles in 'fields d'or, or d'argent; but if heraldy were guided 'by Reaſon, a PLOUGH in a FIELD ARABLE would be 'the moſt noble and ancient arms.'

Bleſt be the man (and bleſt is he) whome'er
(Plac'd far out of the roads of Hope or Fear)
A little Field, a little Garden, feeds;
The Field gives all that Frugal nature needs:
The wealthy Garden lib'rally beſtows
All ſhe can aſk, when ſhe Luxurious grows.
The ſpecious inconveniencies that wait
Upon a life of buſineſs and of ſtate,
He ſees (nor doth the ſight diſturb his reſt)
By Fools deſir'd, by Wicked men poſſeſt.
——Ah wretched, and too Solitary, he
Who loves not his own Company:
He'll feel the weight of't many a day,
Unleſs he call in ſin or vanity
To help to bear't away.

Out of Martial, he gives us this following epigram which he makes his by Tranſlation and Choice, to tell his own Solitude by: I place it here as his.

Would you be free? 'Tis your chief wiſh you ſay:
Come on; I'll ſhew thee, friend, the certain way:
If to no feaſts abroad thou lov'ſt to go,
Whilſt bounteous God doth bread at home beſtow:
If thou the goodneſs of thy clothes doth prize
By thy own Uſe, and not by others Eyes;
If only ſafe from Weathers, thou canſt dwell
In a ſmall Houſe, but a convenient Shell;

If thou without a Sigh or Golden Wiſh
Canſt look upon thy Beechen Bowl, or diſh;
If in thy mind ſuch Power and Greatneſs be,
The Perſian King's a Slave, compar'd with thee.
Whilſt this hard truth I teach, methinks I ſee
The monſter, London, laugh at me;
I ſhould at thee too, fooliſh city,
If it were fit to laugh at Miſery;
But thy eſtate I pity.
Let but thy wicked men from out thee go,
And all the fools that crowd thee ſo;
Even thou who doſt thy millions boaſt,
A Village leſs than Iſlington wilt grow;
A Solitude almoſt.

I ſhall conclude him with this prayer of his own.

For the few hours of life allotted me,
Give me (great God) but Bread and Liberty;
I'll beg no more; if more thou'rt pleas'd to give,
I'll thankfully that Overplus receive.
If beyond This no more be freely ſent,
I'll thank for This, and go away content.

Here ends the wit, the praiſe, the learning, the city, the court, with Abraham Cowley, that once knew and had them all.

§. XXXII. The late Earl of ROCHESTER was inferior to nobody in wit, and hardly any body ever uſed it worſe, if we believe him againſt himſelf, in his Dying Reflections: An account of which I have had from ſome that viſited him in his ſickneſs, beſides that larger one made public by the preſent biſhop of Saliſbury. It was then that he came to think there was a God, for he felt his laſhes on his conſcience; and that there was ſuch a thing as Virtue, and a Reward for it. Chriſtianity was no longer a worldly or abſurd deſign: But Chriſt a Saviour, and a moſt Merciful one; and his doctrines plain, juſt, and reaſonable, and the true way to felicity here and hereafter: Admiring and adoring that mercy to him, which he had treated with ſo much infidelity

infidelity and obſtinate contempt: Wiſhing only for more life to confute his paſt one, and in ſome meaſure to repair the injuries he had done to Religion by it: Begging forgiveneſs for Chriſt's ſake, though he thought himſelf the moſt unworthy of it for his Own. Thus died that witty Lord ROCHESTER: and this retreat he made from the world he had ſo great a name in. May the looſe wits of the times, as he deſired, take WARNING by him, and not leave their Repentance to a Dying-Bed.

§. XXXIII. A noble young man of the family of HOWARD, having too much yielded to the temptations of youth, when upon his ſick-bed (which proved his Dying-Bed) fell under the power and agony of great convictions, mightily bewailing himſelf in the remembrance of his former extravagancies; crying ſtrongly to God to forgive him, abhorring his former courſe, and promiſing amendment, if God renewed life to him. However, he was willing to die, having taſted of the love and forgiveneſs of God; warning his acquaintance and kindred that came to ſee him, to fear God, and forſake the pleaſures and vanity of this world: And ſo willingly yielded his ſoul from the troubles of time, and frailties of mortality.

§. XXXIV. The late princeſs ELIZABETH of the Rhine, of right claimeth a memorial in this diſcourſe; her virtue giving greater luſtre to her name than her quality, which yet was of the greateſt in the German empire. She choſe a ſingle life, as freeſt of care, and beſt ſuited to the ſtudy and meditation ſhe was always inclined to: and the chiefeſt diverſion ſhe took, next the air, was in ſome ſuch plain and houſewifely entertainment, as knitting, &c. She had a ſmall territory which ſhe governed ſo well, that ſhe ſhewed herſelf fit for a greater. She would conſtantly, every Laſt Day in the week, ſit in judgment, and hear and determine cauſes herſelf; where her patience, juſtice, and mercy were admirable; frequently remitting her forfeitures, where the party was poor, or otherwiſe meritorious. And, which was excellent, though unuſual, ſhe would temper

per her discourses with Religion, and strangely draw concerned parties to submission and agreement; exercising not so much the rigour of her power, as the power of her persuasion. Her meekness and humility appeared to me extraordinary. She never considered the quality, but the merit of the people she entertained. Did she hear of 'a retired man, hid from the 'world, and seeking after the knowledge of a better,' she was sure to set him down in the catalogue of her charity, if he wanted it: I have casually seen, I believe, Fifty Tokens sealed and superscribed to the several poor subjects of her bounty, whose distances would not suffer them to know one another, though they knew her whom yet some of them had never seen. Thus, though she kept 'no sumptuous table in her own court, she spread 'the tables of the Poor in their solitary Cells; breaking 'bread to virtuous pilgrims according to their want, and 'her ability. Abstemious in herself, and in apparel 'void of all vain ornaments.'

I must needs say, her mind had a noble prospect: Her eye was to a better and more lasting inheritance than can be found below: which made her often to despise the greatness of courts, and learning of the schools, of which she was an extraordinary judge. Being once at Hamburgh, a religious person, whom she went to see for religion's sake, telling her, 'It was too great 'an honour for him, that he should have a visitant of 'her quality come under his roof, that was allied to so 'many great kings and princes of this world;' she humbly answered, 'if they were godly as well as great, 'it would be an honour indeed: but if you knew what 'that greatness was, as well as I, you would value less 'that honour.' Being in some agony of spirit, after a religious meeting we had in her own chamber, she said, 'It is an hard thing to be faithful to what one 'knows: Oh the way is strait! I am afraid I am not 'weighty enough in my spirit to walk in it.' After another meeting, she uttered these words; 'I have re-'cords in my library, that the Gospel was first brought 'out of England hither into Germany by the English,

'and

' and now it is come again.' She once withdrew, on purpose to give her servants the liberty of discoursing us, that they might the more freely put what questions of conscience they desired to be satisfied in; for they were religious: Suffering both them, and the poorest of her town, to sit by her, in her own bed-chamber, where we had two meetings. I cannot forget her Last Words when I took my leave of her: " Let me desire " you to remember me, though I live at this distance, " and that you should never see me more. I thank " you for this good time; and know, and be assured, " though my condition subjects me to divers tempta- " tions, yet my soul hath strong desires after the best " things." She lived her single life till about sixty years of age, and then departed at her own house in Herwerden, which was about * two years since; as much lamented, as she had lived beloved of the people: To whose Real Worth, I do, with Religious Gratitude for her kind reception, dedicate this memorial.

§. XXXV. Bulstrode Whitlock has left his own character in his " Memorials of English affairs;" a book that shews both his employments and greater abilities. He was almost ever a commissioner and companion with those great men, that the lords and commons of England, at several times, appointed to treat with King Charles I. for a peace. He was commissioner of the great seal, ambassador to the crown of Swedeland, and sometimes president of the council: A scholar, a lawyer, a statesman; in short, he was one of the most accomplished men of the age. Being with him sometimes at his own house in Berkshire, where he gave me that account I have related of chancellor Oxenstern, amongst many serious things he spoke, this was very observable. ' I ever have thought,' said he, ' there has been One True Religion in the world: ' and that is, the work of the Spirit of God in the ' hearts

* She died in 1685. And this passage was inserted in a second edition of this treatise, an. 1692.

'hearts and ſouls of men. There have been indeed 'divers forms and ſhapes of things, through the many 'diſpenſations of God to men, anſwerable to his own 'wiſe ends, in reference to the low and uncertain ſtate 'of man in the world, but the Old World had the 'Spirit of God, for it ſtrove with them; and the New 'World has had the Spirit of God, both Jew and 'Gentile; and it ſtrives with all; and they that have 'been led by it, have been the good people in every 'diſpenſation of God to the world. And I myſelf 'muſt ſay, I have felt it from a child to convince me 'of my evil and vanity; and it has often given me a 'true meaſure of this poor world, and ſome taſte of 'divine things: and it is my grief I did not more 'early apply my ſoul to it. For I can ſay, ſince my 'retirement from the greatneſs and hurries of the 'world, I have felt ſomething of the work and comfort 'of it, and that it is both ready and able to in-'ſtruct, and lead, and preſerve thoſe that will humbly 'and ſincerely hearken to it. So that my religion is 'the Good Spirit of God in my heart; I mean, what 'that has wrought in me and for me.' After meeting at his houſe, to which he gave an entire liberty for all that pleaſed to come, he was ſo deeply affected with the teſtimony of the Light, Spirit, and Grace of Chriſt in Man, as the Goſpel Diſpenſation, that after the meeting cloſed in prayer, he roſe up, and pulled off his hat, and ſaid, 'This is the Everlaſting Goſpel I have 'heard this day: and I humbly bleſs the name of God, 'that he has let me live to ſee this day, in which the 'Ancient Goſpel is again preached to them that dwell 'upon the earth.'

§. XXXVI. A ſiſter of the family of PENN, of Penn, in Buckinghamſhire, a young woman delighting in the finery and pleaſures of the world, was ſeized with a violent illneſs, that proved mortal to her. In the time of her ſickneſs ſhe fell into great diſtreſs of ſoul, bitterly bewailing the want of that inward peace which makes a death-bed eaſy to the righteous. After ſeveral days languiſhing, a little conſolation appeared after this

this manner. She was ſome hours in a kind of a Trance; ſhe apprehended ſhe was brought into a place where Chriſt was; to whom could ſhe but deliver her petition, ſhe hoped to be relieved. But her endeavours increaſed her pain; for as ſhe preſſed to deliver it, 'He turned 'his back upon her,' and would not ſo much as look towards her. But that which added to her ſorrow, was, 'That ſhe beheld others admitted.' However, ſhe gave not over importuning him: And when almoſt ready to faint, and her hope to ſink, 'he turned one 'ſide of his face towards her, and reached forth his 'hand and received her requeſt: at which her trou-'bled ſoul found immediate conſolation.' Turning to thoſe about her, ſhe repeats what had befallen her; adding, 'Bring me my new clothes; take off the lace 'and finery.' And charged her relations, 'Not to 'deck and adorn themſelves after the manner of the 'world; for that the Lord Jeſus, whom ſhe had ſeen, 'appeared to her in the likeneſs of a PLAIN COUNTRY MAN, without any trimming or ornament whatever; 'and that his ſervants ought to be like him.'

§. XXXVII. My own FATHER, after thirty years employment with good ſucceſs, in divers places of eminent truſt and honour in his own country; upon a ſerious reflection not long before his death, ſpoke to me in this manner, 'Son William, I am weary of the 'world; I would not live over my days again if I 'could command them with a wiſh; for the ſnares of 'life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles 'me, that I have offended a gracious God, that has 'followed me to this day. O have a care of ſin! 'That is the ſting both of life and death. Three 'things I commend to you:' Firſt, "Let nothing in this 'world tempt you to wrong your CONSCIENCE:" 'I 'charge you, do nothing againſt your conſcience; ſo 'will you keep peace at home, which will be a feaſt 'to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, Whatever 'you deſign to do,' "lay it juſtly, and time it ſeaſon-"ably;" 'for that gives ſecurity and diſpatch. Laſtly, "Be not troubled at diſappointments;" 'for if they 'may

'may be recovered, do it; if they cannot, trouble is 'vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; 'there is often peace and profit in submitting to 'Providence: for afflictions make wise. If you could 'have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instructi-'on for another time: These rules will carry you 'with firmness and comfort through this inconstant 'world.' At another time he inveighed against the profaneness and impiety of the age; often crying out, with an earnestness of spirit, 'Wo to thee, O England! 'God will judge thee, O England! Plagues are at thy 'door, O England!' He much bewailed, That divers men in power, and many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, were grown so dissolute and profane; often saying, 'God has forsaken us; we are infatuated; 'we will shut our eyes; we will not see our true inter-'ests and happiness; we shall be destroyed!' Apprehending the consequences of the growing looseness of the age to be our ruin: and that the methods most fit to serve the kingdom with true credit at home and abroad, were too much neglected; the trouble of which did not a little help to feed his distemper, which drew him daily nearer to his end: and as he believed it, so less concerned or disordered I never him at any time; of which I took good notice. Wearied to live, as well as near to die, he took his leave of us; and of me, with this expression, and a most composed countenance: 'Son William, if you and your Friends keep 'to your plain Way of Preaching, and keep to your 'plain way of Living, you will make an end of the priests 'to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother: 'live all in love: shun all manner of evil: And I pray 'God to bless you all; and he will bless you.'

§ XXXVIII. ANTHONY LOWTHER of Mask; a person of good sense, of a sweet temper, a just mind, and of a sober education; when of age to be under his own government, was drawn by the men of pleasure of the town into the usual freedoms of it, and was as much a judge as any body of the satisfaction that way of living

living could yield; but ſome time before his ſickneſs, with a free and ſtrong judgment, he would frequently upbraid himſelf, and contemn the world, for thoſe unſeaſonable as well as unchriſtian liberties, that ſo much abound in it; which apprehenſion increaſed by the inſtruction of a long and ſharp ſickneſs: He would often deſpiſe their folly, and abhor their guilt; breathing, with ſome impatience, after the knowledge of the beſt things, and the beſt company; loſing as little time as he could, that he might redeem the time he had loſt; teſtifying often, with a lively reliſh, to the truth of religion, from the ſenſe he had of it in his own breaſt: Frequently profeſſing, 'he knew no joy com-'parable to that of being aſſured of the Love and Mercy 'of God.' Which as he often implored with ſtrong convictions, and a deep humility and reverence, ſo he had frequently taſtes thereof before his laſt period; preſſing his relations and friends, in a moſt ſerious and affectionate manner, to 'love God and one another More, 'and this vile world leſs.' And of this he was ſo full, it was almoſt ever the concluſion of his moſt inward diſcourſes with his family; though he ſometimes ſaid, 'he 'could have been willing to have lived, if God had 'pleaſed, to ſee his younger children nearer a ſettlement 'in the world; yet he felt no deſire to live longer in 'the world, but on the terms of living better in it:' For that he did not only think virtue the ſafeſt, but the Happieſt way of living: Commending and Commanding it to his children upon his laſt bleſſing.

I ſhall conclude this chapter of Retired, Aged, and Dying Perſons, with ſome collections I have made out of the life of a perſon of great piety and quality of the French nation.

§. XXXIX. Du Renty, a young nobleman of France, of admirable parts, as well as great birth, touched with a ſenſe of the vanity of the world, and the ſweetneſs of a retired and religious life, notwithſtanding the honours and employments that waited for him, abandons the pride and pomp of the world, to enjoy a life of more

communion with God: Do but hear him: 'I avow '(saith he) that I have no gust in any thing, where 'I find not Jesus Christ. And for a soul that speaks 'not of him, or in which we cannot taste any effect of 'Grace flowing from his Spirit (which is the Principle 'of Operations, both inward and outward, that are 'solidly Christian) speak not to me at all of such an 'one. Could I (as I may say) behold both miracles 'and wonders there, and yet not Jesus Christ, nor 'hear any talk of Him, I count all but amusement of 'spirit, loss of time, and a very dangerous precipice. 'Let us encourage ourselves to lead this life unknown 'and wholly hid from men, but most known to, and 'intimate with God; divesting ourselves, and chasing 'out of our minds all those many superfluities, and 'those many amusements, which bring with them so 'great a damage, that they take up our minds, instead 'of God. So that when I consider that which thwarts 'and cuts into so many pieces this holy, this sweet and 'amiable Union, which we should have continually 'with God, it appears, that it is only a monsieur, a 'madame, a compliment, and chatting, indeed a 'mere foolery; which notwithstanding, doth ravish 'and wrest from us the time that is so precious, and 'the fellowship that is so holy and so desirable. Let 'us quit this, I pray you, and learn to court it with 'our own Master. Let us well understand our part, 'our own world (as we here phrase it); not that world, 'I mean, which we do renounce, but that wherein the 'children of God do their duties to their Father. There 'is nothing in this world so separate from the world, 'as God; and the greater the saints are, the greater is 'their retirement INTO HIM. This our Saviour taught 'us whilst he lived on earth, being in all his visible 'employments united to God, and retired into the 'bosom of his Father. Since the time that I gave up 'my liberty to God, as I told you, I was given to un-'derstand, to what a state of Annihilation the soul 'must be brought, to render it capable of Union with 'him; I saw my soul reduced into a small point, con-

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'tracted and ſhrunk up to Nothing: And at the ſame 'time I beheld myſelf, as if encompaſſed with what-'ſoever the world loves and poſſeſſeth: and, as it were, 'a hand removing all this far from me, throwing it 'into the ocean of annihilation. In the firſt place, I 'ſaw removed all Exterior Things, Kingdoms, Great 'Offices, Stately Buildings, Rich Houſehold-ſtuff, Gold 'and Silver, Recreations, Pleaſures; all which are 'great Incumbrances to the ſoul's paſſing on to God; 'of which therefore his pleaſure is, that ſhe be ſtripped, 'that ſhe may arrive at the point of nakedneſs and 'death, which will bring her into poſſeſſion of ſolid 'riches, and real life. Aſſure yourſelf, there is no 'ſecurity in any eſtate, but this of Dying and Anni-'hilation; which is, to be "baptized into Chriſt's "death," 'that we live the life of mortification. Our 'beſt way is therefore, to diveſt ourſelves of All, 'that the Holy Child Jeſus may govern all. All that 'can be imagined in this lower world, is of ſmall 'concernment, though it were the loſing of all our 'goods, and the death of all the men in it; this poor 'ant-hill is not worthy of a ſerious thought. Had 'we but a little Faith, and a little Love, how happy 'ſhould we eſteem ourſelves, in giving away all, to 'attend no more, ſave on God alone; and to ſay, *Deus 'meus & omnia*! My God, and my All!—Being (ſaith 'he) in a chapel richly wainſcotted, and adorned with 'very excellent ſculpture, and with imagery, I beheld 'it with ſome attention, having had ſome ſkill in 'theſe things, and ſaw the bundle of flowers-de-luces, 'and of flowers in form of borders, and of every 'curious workmanſhip: it was on a ſudden put into 'my mind, "The Original of what thou ſeeſt, would "not detain thee at all in ſeeing it." 'And I per-'ceived that indeed all theſe, and thoſe flowers them-'ſelves (not in pictures) would not have taken me up; 'and all the ornaments which architecture and art 'invent, are but things moſt mean and low, running 'in a manner only upon Flowers, Fruits, Branches,

'Harpies,

'Harpies, and Chimera's; part whereof are, in their 'very being, but things common and low, and part 'of them merely imaginary; and yet man (who crouch-'eth to every thing) renders himself amorous and a 'slave of them; no otherwise than as if a Good work-'man should stand to copy out, and counterfeit, some 'trifles and fopperies. I considered by this sight how 'poor man was to be cheated, amused, and diverted 'from his Sovereign Good. And since that time, I 'could make no more stand to consider any of these 'things: And if I did it, I should reproach myself for 'it; as no sooner seeing them in churches, or else-'where. but this is presently put upon my spirit, "The Original is Nothing, the copy and the Image is "yet less: Each thing is Vain, except the Employ-"ment of ourselves about GOD alone." An absolute 'Abnegation will be necessary to all things, to follow 'in Simplicity, without Reserve or Reflection, what 'our Saviour shall work in us, or appoint for us, let it 'be this or that. This way has shewed me in which 'I ought to walk towards him; and hence it is, that 'all things to me ordinarily are without any gust or 'delight. I assure you, it is a great shame to a Christian 'to pass his days in this world more at ease than Jesus 'Christ here passed his. Ah? had we but a little faith, 'what repose could we take out of the cross!'

I will conclude his sayings with his dying blessing to his surviving children.

'I pray God bless you; and may it please him to bless 'you, and to preserve you by his Grace from the evil 'of the world, that you may have no part therein: 'and above all, my children, that you may live in the 'fear and love of God, and yield due obedience to your 'mother.'

Expressions of that weight and moment to the immortal good of men, that they abundantly prove, to all sensible readers, that the author was a man of an enlightened mind, and of a soul mortified to the world, and quickened to some tastes of a supernatural life.

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Let his youth, let his quality, adorned with ſo much zeal and piety, ſo much ſelf-denial and conſtancy, become exemplary to thoſe of worldly quality, who may be the readers of this book. Some perhaps, will hear that truth from the ſeveral authors I have reported, whoſe names, death and time have recovered from the envy of men, that would hardly endure it from me, if at all from the living. Be it as it will, I ſhall abundantly rejoice, if God ſhall pleaſe to make any part of this diſcourſe effectual to perſuade any into the love of holineſs, 'without which,' certain it is, 'no man ſhall 'ſee the Lord: But the pure in heart ſhall behold him 'for ever.'

To conclude: I cannot paſs this reflection upon what is obſerved of the ſayings of Dying Men, and which to me ſeems to have great inſtruction in it; viz. All men agree, when they come to die, it is beſt to be Religious: to live an Holy, Humble, Strict, and ſelf-denying Life; Retired, Solitary, Temperate, and Diſincumbered of the World. Then loving God ABOVE ALL, and our neighbours as ourſelves, forgiving our enemies, and praying for them, are ſolid things, and the eſſential part of religion, as the true ground of man's happineſs. Then all ſin is 'exceeding ſinful,' and yields no more pleaſure: But every inordinate deſire is burdenſome, and ſeverely reproved. Then the world, with all the lawful comforts in it, weighs light againſt that ſenſe and judgment, which ſuch men have between the temporal and the eternal. And ſince it is thus with dying men, what inſtruction is it to the living, whoſe pretence, for the moſt part, is a perpetual contradiction? O! that men would learn to "Number their days, that they might "apply their hearts to wiſdom;" of which "the fear "of the Lord is the true and only beginning." And "Bleſſed are they that fear always, for their feet ſhall "be preſerved from the ſnare of death."

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

§. 1. Of the way of living amongſt the firſt Chriſtians. §. 2. An Exhortation to all profeſſing Chriſtianity, to embrace the foregoing Reaſons and Examples. §. 3. Plain dealing with ſuch as reject them. §. 4. Their recompenſes. §. 5. The Author is better perſuaded and aſſured of ſome: An Exhortation to them. §. 6. Encouragement to the Children of Light to perſevere, from a conſideration of the Excellency of their Reward; the End and Triumph of the Chriſtian Conqueror. The whole concluded with a brief Supplication to Almighty God.

THE CONCLUSION.

§. 1. HAVING finiſhed ſo many Teſtimonies, as my time would give me leave, in favour of this ſubject, No Cross, No Crown; No Temperance, No Happineſs; No Virtue, No Reward; No Mortification, No Glorification: I ſhall conclude with a ſhort deſcription of the life and worſhip of the Chriſtians within the firſt century, or hundred years, after Chriſt: What ſimplicity, what ſpirituality, what holy love and communion did in that bleſſed age abound among them! It is delivered originally by Philo Judæus, and cited by Euſebius Pamphilius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; 'That thoſe Chriſtians renounced their ſubſtance, and 'ſevered themſelves from all the cares of this life; 'and forſaking the cities, they lived ſolitary in fields 'and gardens. They accounted their company, who 'followed the contrary life of cares and buſtles, as 'unprofitable and hurtful to them; to the end that 'with earneſt and fervent deſires, they might imitate 'them which led this prophetical and heavenly life. 'In many places, ſays he, this people liveth (for it 'behoved as well the Grecians as the Barbarians, to 'be partakers of this abſolute goodneſs); but in 'Egypt,

'Egypt, in every province they abound; and especially 'about Alexandria. From all parts the better sort 'withdrew themselves into the soil and place of these 'worshippers (as they were called) as a most com- 'modious place, adjoining to the Lake of Mary, in a 'valley very fit, both for its security and the temper- 'ance of the air. They are farther reported to have 'meeting-houses, where the most part of the day 'was employed in worshipping God: That they were 'great Allegorizers of the scriptures, making them all 'figurative: That the external shew of words (or the 'letter) resembleth the superfices of the body; and 'the hidden sense or understanding of the words seem 'in place of the soul; which they contemplate by their 'beholding names, as it were in a glass:'* That is, their religion consisted not chiefly in reading the letter, disputing about it, accepting things in Literal Constructions, but in the Things declared of, the substance itself, bringing things nearer to the mind, soul, and spirit, and pressing into a more hidden and heavenly sense; making religion to consist in the Temperance and Sanctity of the Mind, and not in the Formal Bodily Worship, so much now-a-days in repute, fitter to please Comedians than Christians. Such was the practice of those times: But now the case is altered; people will be Christians, and have their worldly-mindedness too: But though God's kingdom suffer violence by such, yet shall they never enter; The Life of Christ and his followers hath in all ages been another thing; and there is but One Way, One Guide, One Rest; all which are pure and holy.

§. II. But if any (notwithstanding our many sober reasons, and numerous testimonies from scripture, or the examples or experience of religious, worldly and profane, living and dying men, at home and abroad, of the greatest note, fame, and learning, in the whole world) shall yet remain lovers and imitators of the folly

* Philo Judæus of the worship of Egypt and Alexand. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 17.

folly and the vanity condemned; if the cries and groans, ſighs, and tears, and complaints and mournful wiſhes of ſo many reputed great, nay, ſome ſober men.—"O that I had had more time?—O that I might "live a year longer, I would live a ſtricter life!—O "that I were a poor Jean Urick!—All is vanity in this "world:—O my poor ſoul, whither wilt thou go?—O "that I had the time ſpent in vain recreations!—A "ſerious life is above all;" and ſuch-like; if, I ſay, this by no means can prevail, but if yet they ſhall proceed to folly, and follow the vain world, what greater evidence can they give of their heady reſolution to go on impiouſly; to deſpiſe God; to diſobey his precepts; to deny Chriſt; to ſcorn; not to bear his croſs; to forſake the examples of his ſervants; to give the lie to the dying ſerious ſayings and conſent of all ages; to harden themſelves againſt the checks of conſcience; to befool and ſport away their precious time, and poor immortal ſouls to wo and miſery? In ſhort, it is plainly to diſcover you neither have Reaſon to juſtify yourſelves, nor yet enough of Modeſty to bluſh at your own folly; but, as thoſe that have loſt the ſenſe of one and the other, go on to "eat and drink, and riſe up to play." In vain therefore is it for you to pretend to fear the God of heaven, whoſe minds ſerve the god of the pleaſure of this world: In vain it is to ſay, you believe in Chriſt, who receive not his ſelf-denying doctrine: And to no better purpoſe will all you do, avail. If he that had loved "God and his neighbour, and kept the command-"ments from his youth," was excluded from being a diſciple, "becauſe he ſold not all, and followed "Jeſus;" with what confidence can you call yourſelves Chriſtians, who have neither kept the commandments, nor yet forſaken any thing to be ſo? And if it was a bar betwixt him and the eternal life he ſought, that (notwithſtanding all his other virtues) love to Money, and his external poſſeſſions, "could not be parted with;"[a] what

[a] Exod. xxxii. 6. Amos vi. 3 to 6. Eph. iv. 17, 24. 2 Tim. ii. 19. Mat. xix. 16 to 22.

what ſhall be your end, who cannot deny yourſelves many leſs things, but are daily multiplying your inventions, to pleaſe your fleſhly appetites? Certainly, much more impoſſible is it to forſake the Greater. Chriſt tried his love, in bidding him forſake All, becauſe he knew, for all his brags, that his mind was rivetted therein; not that if he had enjoyed his poſſeſſions with Chriſtian Indifferency, they might not have been continued: But what then is their doom, whoſe hearts are ſo fixed in the vanities of the world, that they will rather make them Chriſtian, than not to be Chriſtians in the uſe of them? But ſuch a Chriſtian this Young Man might have been, who had more to ſay for himſelf than the ſtricteſt Phariſee living dare pretend to; yet "he went away ſorrowful from Jeſus."[b] Should I aſk you, if Nicodemus did well to come by night, and be aſhamed of the great Meſſiah of the world? And if he was not Ignorant when Chriſt ſpake to him of the New Birth? I know you would anſwer me, 'He did 'very ill, and was very ignorant.' But, ſtay a while, the beam is in your own eyes; you are ready doubtleſs to condemn Him, and the Young Man for not doing what you not only refuſe to do yourſelves, but laugh at Others for doing. Nay, had ſuch paſſages not been writ, and were it not for the reverence ſome pretend for the Scriptures, they would both be as ſtupid as Nicodemus in their anſwers to ſuch heavenly matters, and ready to call it canting to ſpeak ſo; as it is frequent for you, when we ſpeak to the ſame effect, though not the ſame words: juſt as the Jews, at what time they called God their Father, they deſpiſed his Son; and when he ſpake of ſublime and heavenly myſteries, ſome cried, "He has a devil;" others, "He is mad:" and moſt of them, "Theſe are hard ſayings, who can bear "them?"

§. III. And to you all, that ſport yourſelves after the manners of the World, let me ſay, that you are thoſe "who profeſs you know God, but in works deny him;"[c]

[b] John iii 1 to 5. [c] Titus i 16.

living in thoſe pleaſures which ſlay the Juſt in yourſelves. For though you talk of believing, it is no more than taking it for granted that there is a God, a Chriſt, Scriptures, &c. without farther concerning yourſelves to prove the verity thereof, to yourſelves or others, by a ſtrict and holy converſation: Which ſlight way of Believing, is but a light and careleſs way of ridding yourſelves of farther examination; and rather throwing them off with an inconſiderate granting of them to be ſo, than giving yourſelves the trouble of making better inquiry (leaving that to your prieſts, oft-times more ignorant, and not leſs vain and idle, than yourſelves) which is ſo far from a Goſpel Faith, that it is the leaſt reſpect you can ſhew to God, Scriptures, &c. and next to which kind of Believing is nothing, under a Denial of all.

But if you have hitherto laid aſide all temptations to Reaſon and Shame, at leaſt be entreated to reſume them now in a matter of this importance, and whereon no leſs concernment reſts, than your temporal and eternal happineſs. 'Oh! retire, retire; obſerve the 'reproofs of inſtruction in your own minds: that which 'begets ſadneſs in the midſt of mirth, which cannot 'ſolace itſelf, nor be contented below immortality; 'which calls often to an account at nights, mornings, 'and other ſeaſons; which lets you ſee the vanity, the 'folly, the end, and miſery of theſe things; this is the 'Juſt Principle, and Holy Spirit of the Almighty 'within you: hear him, obey him, converſe with them 'who are led by him; and let the glories of another 'world be eyed, and the heavenly recompenſe of re-'ward kept in ſight.' Admit not the thoughts of former follies to revive; but be ſteady, and continually exerciſed by his Grace, 'to deny ungodlineſs and 'worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, righteouſly and 'godly in this preſent world.'[d] For this is the true and heavenly nature of Chriſtianity, 'To be ſo awaken-'ed and guided by the Spirit and Grace of God, as

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[d] Tit. ii. 11. 12. 13. 14.

'to leave the sins and vanities of the world, and to 'have the affections regenerated, the mind reformed, 'and the whole man baptized into purity and faithful- 'ness towards God and man, as to act with reverence, 'justice, and mercy. To care for very few things; to 'be content with what you have; to use all as if you 'used them not; and to be so disentangled from the 'lusts, pleasures, profits, and honours of the world, 'as to have the mind raised to things above, the heart 'and affections fixed there: that in all things you may 'glorify God, and be as lights set on a hill, whose 'shining examples may be conducing to the happiness 'of others, who beholding such good works, may be 'converted, and glorify God the Father of lights, in 'whom you all would be eternally blessed.'

§. IV. But if the impenitence of any is so great, their pursuit of folly as earnest, and, notwithstanding what has been thus seriously offered to reclaim them, they are resolved to take their course, and not to be at leisure for more divine things, I have this farther to leave with them from the Almighty, who first called me to this work; 'That tribulation, anguish, and 'sorrow shall make their dying beds; indignation and 'wrath shall wind up their days; and trouble and 'vexation of mind and spirit shall be the miserable 'fruits which they shall reap, as the reward of all 'their wretched folly and rebellion!'[e] Be not deceived, God will not be mocked: It is so irreversibly decreed; 'Whatsoever is sown here, shall be reaped hereafter.' And just is the Almighty, to make good his determinations upon such, who instead of employing the time given them, to 'work out their salvation with fear 'and trembling,'[f] have spent it in the pleasures of the flesh, which perisheth; as if their heaven were here. Nor can it seem unreasonable, since he hath thus long waited with REMISSION of Sins and ETERNAL LIFE in his hand, to distribute to them that REPENT; that if such will not, to recompense so great obstinacy, and love

[e] Rom. ii 4 5 6 9. [f] Gal. vi 4 5 6 7 8.

love of this perishing world, with everlasting tribulation.[g]

§. V. But I am otherwise persuaded of many; yes, I am assured the mercies of the everlasting God have been so extended to many, that this will prove an effectual call to bring them out of the ways and customs of this corrupted and corrupting world; and a means for establishing such, who hitherto have been unfaithful to what they have been already convinced of. And you, my friends, whose minds have received the Alarm, 'whose hearts have truly heard the voice of one crying in the Wilderness, where you have been straying 'from the Lord, Repent, Repent!' to you, in the name of the Great and Living God, I speak, I cry, 'Come, 'away, come away; ah! what do you do there? Why 'are you yet behind? That is not your rest: it is polluted with the sins and vanities of a perishing world: 'Gird up your loins; eye your Light (One in All) 'Christ Jesus, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; 'who hath enlightened every one: Follow him; he 'will lead you to the city of God, that has foundations, 'into which the wicked cannot enter.'[h]

§. VI. Mind not the difficulties of your march; great and good things were never enterprised and accomplished without difficulty; which does but render their enjoyment more pleasant and glorious in the end. Let the holy men and women of old be your examples; remember good old Abraham, the excellency of whose faith is set out by his obedience to the voice of God, in forsaking his father's house, kindred, country, &c. And Moses, that might in probability have been made a king, by faith in God, leaves Egypt's glory, and Pharaoh's favours, and chooses rather to sojourn and pilgrimage with the despised, afflicted, tormented Israelites in the wilderness, than to enjoy the pleasures of that great court for a season; esteeming Christ's reproaches greater riches than Egypt's treasures. But, above all, how great was the reproach, how many the suffer-

[g] Rev. iii 20 and xxi 27 and xxii 13 14 15. [h] John i 9.

sufferings, how bitter the mockings, which Jesus suffered at the hands of his enemies? Yet with what patience, meekness, forgiveness, and constancy, did he in all his actions demean himself towards his bloody persecutors, " despising the shame, enduring the cross, for " the joy that was set before him? And hath left us this " glorious example, that we should follow his steps;"[1] which hath in almost every age been imitated by some. The apostles sealed their testimonies with their blood, and multitudes after the example of their constancy; esteeming it the greatest honour, as it was always attended with the signalest demonstrations of the Divine Presence. How memorable was that of Origen? ' If my ' father were weeping upon his knees before me, and my ' mother hanging about my neck behind me, and all my ' brethren, sisters and kinsfolk lamenting on every ' side, to retain me in the life and practice of the ' world, I would fling my mother to the ground, run ' over my father, despise all my kindred, and tread ' them under my feet, that I might run to Christ.' Yet it is not unknown, how dutiful and tender he was in those relations. Not much unlike to this, was that noble and known instance of latter times, in Galeacius Caracciolus, marquis of Vico, who abandoned his friends, estate and country, resolutely saying with Moses, ' That ' he would rather suffer afflictions with the first reformers ' and protestants, than enjoy his former plenty, favours ' and pleasures with his old religion.' Nor is it possible for any now to quit the world, and live a serious godly life in Christ, without the like suffering and persecution. There are among us also some who have suffered the displeasure of their most dear and intimate relations and friends; and all those troubles, disgraces, and reproaches, which are accustomed to attend such, as decline the ' honours, pleasures, ambition, and preferments of the world, and that choose to live an humble, ' serious, and self-denying life before the Lord:' But they

[1] Gen. xii. 1, 2. Heb. xi. 24 to 27. Isa. liv. 3. Heb. xii. 1, 2. 1 Pet. ii. 21, 22, 23.

they are very unequal to the joy and recompense that follow. For though there be no affliction that is not grievous for the present, yet what says the man of God? "It works a far more exceeding weight of glory in the "end."[k] This has been both the faith and experience of those that in all ages have trusted in God, 'who have 'not fainted by the way, but, enduring, have obtained 'an eternal diadem.'[l]

Wherefore, since we are compassed about with "so "great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every "weight and burden, and the sin and vanities that do "so easily beset us; and with a constant, holy patience "run our race, having our eyes fixed upon Jesus, the "author and finisher of our faith, not minding what "is behind;" so shall we be delivered from every snare. No temptations shall gain us, no frowns shall scare us from Christ's Cross, and our blessed self-denial: And honour, glory, immortality, and a crown of eternal life, shall recompense all our sufferings in the end.[l]

"O Lord God! Thou lovest holiness, and purity "is thy delight in the earth. Wherefore, I pray "thee, make an end of sin, and finish transgression, "and bring in thy everlasting righteousness to the souls "of men, that thy poor creation may be delivered from "the bondage it groans under, and the earth enjoy her "sabbath again: That thy great name may be lifted up "in all nations, and thy salvation renowned to the ends "of the world. For thine is the kingdom, the power, "and the glory for ever. Amen."

[k] 2 Tim. iii. 12. 1 Pet. iv. 1 to 5. [l] Heb. xi. 1. Rom. v. 1 to 4. Phil. iii. 13. Rom. ii. 7.

FINIS.